June • 15c

Equality

THE AMERICAN WAY ★ EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

What M-DAY will mean to you

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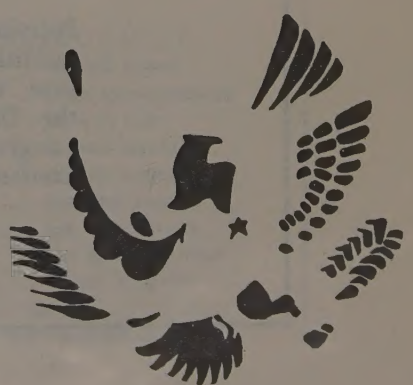
The Dictator Racket *of* JOE McWILLIAMS

WE'LL KEEP OUT OF WAR IF WE KEEP OUR HEADS

AN EDITORIAL



No One
IS BORN AN *ANTI-SEMITE!*

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About This Issue

What did we hear a few months back about no witch-hunts, no hysteria? As we go to press there's hardly anything else but in the papers. Fifth columns lurk where yesterday only normal differences of opinion were to be found. Aviators in Texas fear to bail out lest they be shot for parachutists. National promotion is put behind a scheme to deputize gunmen to purge U. S. factories of "sabotage and sedition," known in more peaceful times as labor trouble. Industrialists fall into "advisory committee" formation as the right to strike is frowned upon. Alien-baiting bills get a new shot in the arm. "False slogans and emotional appeals"—*i.e.*, the other guy's opinion—become treason to "unity of the state."

For antidote we recommend our editorial, "We'll Keep Out of War if We Keep Our Heads." As a warning of the full dictatorship that lies ahead if we drift, we recommend "The ABC of M-Day," by COLIN CHAMBERS, young writer and industrial worker who knows his plain folks and his plain facts. As some straight horse sense to those who think you can fight anti-Semitism in a vacuum, we recommend "The Jews and Peace." Senator Norris needs no recommendation; the results of his painstaking investigation of the F.B.I. and civil liberties speak for themselves. . . .

How does a fuehrer, or candidate for same, get that way? There have been psychiatric and sociological low-downs on the European breed. We present a carefully documented and highly readable case history of the American variety in "The Dictator Racket of Joe McWilliams," by MAURICE GOODENOUGH, who wrote "All Necks or None" in the February issue. Joe, as an individual, doesn't deserve the space; as a laboratory specimen, he does. . . .

The current scuttling of the Anti-Lynching Bill, described by HELEN BURLIN in "Rope, Fagot and Jury," is an alarming straw in the wind. Something akin to lynchings takes place even in courtrooms, Miss Burlin found in her recent travels in the South. . . . ALFRED J. BRENNER tells of another member of a minority group who contributes to America's many-sided culture in "Writes Our Songs." It is about James P. Johnson, the Negro musician. . . .

In one respect *Equality* is absolutely unique. In the "Builders of Democracy" series by ALBERT DEUTSCH we make magazine history by dealing with George Washington in the June rather than the February issue. . . What Protestants are and aren't doing to fight anti-Semitism is discussed by REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER, editor of the *Churchman* and a member of our Editorial Council. . . The trial of the Brooklyn Coughlinites still wends its weary way as we go to press, with the press inclined to play the angle that the young anti-Semites offended from an excess of patriotism. Next month we expect to analyze the whole proceeding. . . .

Published monthly and copyright, 1940, by Equality Publishers, Inc., a non-profit body, 512 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. Single copies 15c. Subscription $1.50 a year. Canada and foreign $2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter May 18, 1939, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A. 412

VOL. 2 JUNE, 1940 No. 6

Equality

An Independent, Non-Sectarian Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Racial and Religious Intolerance

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Immigrants and unemployment

"In recent years the total number of aliens admitted to the United States exceeds the number of our unemployed."—Representative Martin Dies, in *Liberty*.

The number of unemployed is estimated at nine to twelve million.

Immigrants in the four-year period 1935-38 numbered 189,424.

In the ten-year period ending June 30, 1939, immigrants exceeded emigrants by 19,398.

Immigrants and crime

One of the slanders which groups like the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are constantly called on to refute alleges that Americans of newer stock have the major responsibility for crime.

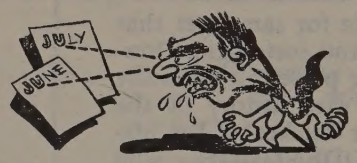
The 1939 report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation again disproves this lie. Foreign-born white last year had a crime rate of 203.7 per 100,000 of population; native-born white, 607.8.

Naughty Uncle Dudley

One thing about anti-Semitic circles: you meet such *nice* people. Take dear old Uncle Dudley, valued contributor to the *Brooklyn Tablet* and pal of its editor, Patrick Scanlan (see *Equality*, December and March). Though Uncle writes for the chaste columns of the diocesan paper, he can be *such* a mischief in his spare time.

Last winter Uncle Dudley, who in private life is Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, husband and father of three children, met Miss Judith Thompson in a Chicago restaurant. He showed her the hot spots, bought her presents, and told her about the Jewish plot to overthrow the social and moral order. When some Jews approached the bar where they were drinking, he smashed glasses and furniture to show his revulsion. One day he demanded that Miss Thompson take the "Jew" out of her first name, and, to emphasize the point, beat her with his fists, choked her, and knocked her cold. On April 17 Judge Schiller in Chicago gave him the choice of a fine or a psychiatric examination.

He took the fine. Incidentally, Miss Thompson is suing Uncle Dudley for $50,000.



The Dies Committee goes to school

Our first reaction to the news that the Dies Committee intended to go to school was one of pleasure, and we were about to suggest that all its members bone up in courses on the fundamentals of democracy. We thought it would give them a much-needed opportunity to read the Bill of Rights, of which they seem to have more than a smattering of ignorance. We soon learned, however, that the planned expedition was not to be a search for knowledge but a hunt for heretics.

According to news reports, the committee is preparing to undertake an inquiry into alleged subversive "propaganda in textbooks used in schools and colleges," and to "investigate political and social affiliations of the authors of the books." Those who remember Mr. Dies' characterization of the films *Juarez* and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* as "red propaganda" have a clue to what lies in the offing. The new heresy-hunt represents another link in the long chain of broken promises manufactured by the Dies Committee in the course of its peculiar career. When the extension of the committee's life was being debated in the House last January, Congressman Celler of New York reported on the floor that he had spoken to certain Dies committeemen. "They assure me wholeheartedly and unmistakably," he said, "that there will be no repetition of the errors of the past. . . . They will not attack the intellectual freedom of educators and university instructors. They will not berate students for their opinions, and they will not attempt the censorship of books, plays, or works of art."

Is the F.B.I. beyond the law?

None who cherishes civil liberties could fail to be shocked by the further revelations made in the Senate by George W. Norris concerning the third-degree methods used by the F.B.I. in the loyalist Spain recruiting cases in Detroit. One unwholesome aspect of the bureau's operations pointed out by the Nebraska Senator has not received the attention it merits.

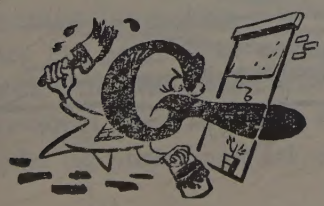
It has long been known that J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I., possesses one of the best-oiled publicity machines in the country. This machine has been used effectively for the greater glory of Mr. Hoover. Repeated charges of horse-trading with keyhole columnists whereby exclusive tips on F.B.I. activities are exchanged for personal plugs have revealed a situation so scandalous that even some of Mr. Hoover's staunchest defenders have criticized it. Senator Norris has made a forthright and timely warn-

ing to Americans on this score. Referring to Mr. Hoover as "the greatest publicity hound on the American continent," the veteran Senator observed:

> Unless we do something to stop this furore of adulation and omnipotent praise, we will have an organization of the F.B.I. that, instead of protecting the government from criminals, will direct the government itself. Unless this is stopped there will be a spy behind every stump and a detective in every closet. It is my humble judgment that Mr. Hoover is doing more injury to law enforcement in this country by his publicity-seeking methods than any other one thing in his department.

It has come to such a pass that anyone who dares criticize Mr. Hoover or his aides is immediately smeared with red paint and tagged "subversive." In frequent speeches before women's clubs and other organizations, Mr. Hoover has skillfully used the "association" propaganda technique of coupling his critics with "criminal racketeers" and "reds." This sort of thing is dangerous. Also dangerous is his tendency to defend himself against charges of illegal acts by implying that the victims of such alleged illegalities represent "subversive elements" and hence are beyond the law's protection.

The Detroit arrests by no means constitute the only instance of unlawful behavior by the F.B.I. to the detriment of civil liberties. Equally as serious have been its wire-tapping operations in direct violation of federal statute. Mr. Hoover has confessed to this law-breaking activity, which the late Justice Holmes called "a dirty business." Senator Wheeler of Montana, who helped frame the federal statute prohibiting wire-tapping, has called upon the Department of Justice to prosecute "all those violating the law regardless of who they might be." Defenders of civil liberties will watch with interest the reaction of Attorney-General Jackson to this demand.



It is a dangerous attitude that winks at lawless methods by law enforcement officers as a "necessary evil." Those who themselves break the law, no matter what their own status may be, do not encourage respect for the law on the part of the plain citizen. This point was impressively proved in the reports of the National (Wickersham) Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement some years ago.

No man is entitled to think he is beyond the law, not even J. Edgar Hoover. An "I-am-the-Law" Hoover is no better than an "I-am-the-Law" Hague. America neither needs nor wants a government of, by, and for the G-men.

Religious liberty a real issue?

Talk about a threat to religious liberties, as *Equality* does and must these days, and some people get a mental picture of heavy-footed cops descending tomorrow on the neighborhood Methodist or Presbyterian or Catholic church to padlock its doors. We are seeing hobgoblins, they conclude, and reach for more sober reading material.

So a word of explanation is necessary. Fogs, as we have implied before, do not come on lumbering elephantine feet. Powerful groups, secular or religious, do not get stepped on—at least not first. The health of religious liberty in America must be judged in terms of the rights of non-Christian minorities (not only to practice their own rites but to do business, get jobs, and live where they choose) and of the rights of those smaller Christian sects which because of the extraordinary zeal or the low economic status of their members are considered by many as odd and not entirely respectable.

A good case in point is the Jehovah's Witnesses. It is one of their doctrines that obeisance to any man-made object, including a flag, is displeasing to God; and so devoutly do they believe this that a number of them have gone to jail and seen their children deprived of schooling rather than have them submit to that compulsory saluting of the flag which is the law in eighteen states. The issue has been in the courts for years, and the right of two Minersville (Pa.) children to attend public school without committing what sincere parents have taught them would be an act of idolatry, is now before the Supreme Court.

No, religious freedom, even for Christians, is not yet an unchallenged right in America. The last war witnessed the imprisonment of several score members of obscure Protestant sects who put a literal construction on the sixth commandment. Religious convictions today are leading many Christians, in the major as well as the lesser denominations, to formulate anew their attitude toward war and the social order. There will be those intolerant enough to see suppression as the fitting rejoinder to these new beliefs. A wave of reaction, if let loose, will not stop at church doors. There are Jehovah's Witnesses in Germany too. Hitler began arresting them early in his regime—about the same time as Communists. In time, he menaced all Protestantism, all Jewry, all Catholicism.

John Groth
"PEACE IN OUR TIME"
Help!

We'll Keep Out of War if We Keep Our Heads

. . . and we'll keep our heads if we keep out of war

OUR war-racked generation is passing through its most tragic period. Western Europe is convulsed in the throes of death and destruction. Hearts are cut to the quick by the hourly bulletins of the frightful carnage, while troubled minds wonder if mankind will ever attain a truly civilized status. We mourn with the millions of innocents in the ravaged lands, caught in the trap of a war they never made. As these lines are written, the contending armies are locked in a gigantic battle that may prove decisive. The world awaits its outcome with anxiety.

It is only natural that we should feel deeply the cataclysm that has struck in Europe. Only shallow, cold-blooded beings could shrug their shoulders and cut themselves off emotionally from the masses of human victims of the titanic conflict. Yet it is vitally imperative that we not only *feel,* but *think.* At no time has it been more necessary for men of good will to keep their heads clear above the storm that rages about us. It is one of the tragic circumstances of history that reason is dethroned from the minds of men at the very moment it is most needed. Driven by whipped-up prejudice and passion, men plunge blindly into the abyss.

America must keep its head! With the heightening of emotional tensions, the danger that the United States will be stampeded into war increases momentarily. The overwhelming majority of the American people stand firmly for peace. Their reason tells them that they have no moral obligation nor material incentive for rushing into this war, any more than they had in the last one. Let them be on guard against the war-rousers who work best in times of emotional stress, advancing their propaganda swiftly under the protecting cloak of mass hysteria.

We are not isolationists. We condemn isolationism as narrow, selfish and short-sighted. We feel that the brotherhood of man is not limited by national boundaries. Apart from considerations of humanity, Americans are deeply affected by what is happening in the rest of the world. Isolationism has no more place in the modern world than feudalism has. It is not on isolationist but on broad humanitarian grounds that we feel that the best interests of America and of mankind will be served by our remaining at peace.

The sympathies of most Americans lie with the peoples of the Allied countries in this conflict. Nearly everyone now recognizes the Hitler regime as the most brutal dictatorship of modern history. The editors of *Equality* might point out that one of the reasons for founding this journal was to combat the Hitler menace in this country—the fifth columns parading under the banners of Coughlin, Kuhn, the K.K.K., and similar individuals and organizations. We hate Hitler and all he represents. Yet we are convinced that to plunge America into war against Germany would be to prostitute to unworthy and futile ends the great body of anti-fascist sentiment in America which we, in some small measure, helped to build. Yes, worse than futile ends, for such a war would tend to spread rather than destroy the fascist mentality and method.

Duff-Cooper and Chamberlain have lately amended Britain's war aims to include the crushing of the German people as well as of Hitler. A Versailles sowed the seeds of Hitlerism. What will a super-Versailles, coming at the end of a devastating war, do to the world of tomorrow, to victors and to vanquished? We know that on the day that America

entered the war, a dictatorship would be established in this country—if any do not know this, let them read the excerpts from official M-Day documents published elsewhere in this issue. By going into the last war we did not end war. By establishing Hitlerism in this country, we shall not end Hitlerism in the world.

The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to our entry into the war. That is a wholesome fact. They are not all opposed for the same reasons, nor do they all see the war through the same eyes. That is not necessary. Some see the Allies fighting unselfishly for noble ends. Others, while sympathizing with their cause on broad grounds of ideology and national interest, nevertheless question the purity of motive of the men of Munich and their successors who betrayed their pledges to small democracies and refused to stop Hitler when there was still time to do so.* Still others are pushed to the conclusion that this war, like most wars that have preceded it, is based on the commercial rivalries and power politics that have ruthlessly sacrificed many millions of men, women, and children in periodic clashes of the past.

We can afford to disagree on the nature of the war, so long as we stay out of it and keep the home fires of democracy aglow. We have a grim war to wage here on the home front—the war against insecurity and want. Amid the talk of raising a new defense army, let us not forget the vital task of reducing to a minimum our standing army of over ten million unemployed. While we should not minimize threats to democracy abroad, from whatever source, let us be vigilant in defending and extending our democracy at home, seriously endangered by the insidious assaults of the fifth column which seeks to break the backbone of democracy—the Bill of Rights.

This does not mean that we need withdraw ourselves into a mental shell, completely indifferent to what goes on across the Atlantic. Neither does it mean that we should cut ourselves off from the helpless victims of the holocaust in the stricken countries. Ways and means must be strenuously sought to aid in an equitable rehabilitation of war-torn Europe when the time is propitious. We can serve no worthy purpose, however, by plunging headlong into the slaughter ourselves. Let us be on guard against "the steps short of war" that lead inevitably to war's brink. The need of safeguarding loans and credits was a principal factor in precipitating us into the last war "to save democracy." It may well be that loans and credits will again catapult us into this war "to save civilization."

American entrance into the war can and should be avoided. Barricades of reason must be erected against the onrush of war hysteria. We can keep out of the war by keeping our heads, and vice versa.

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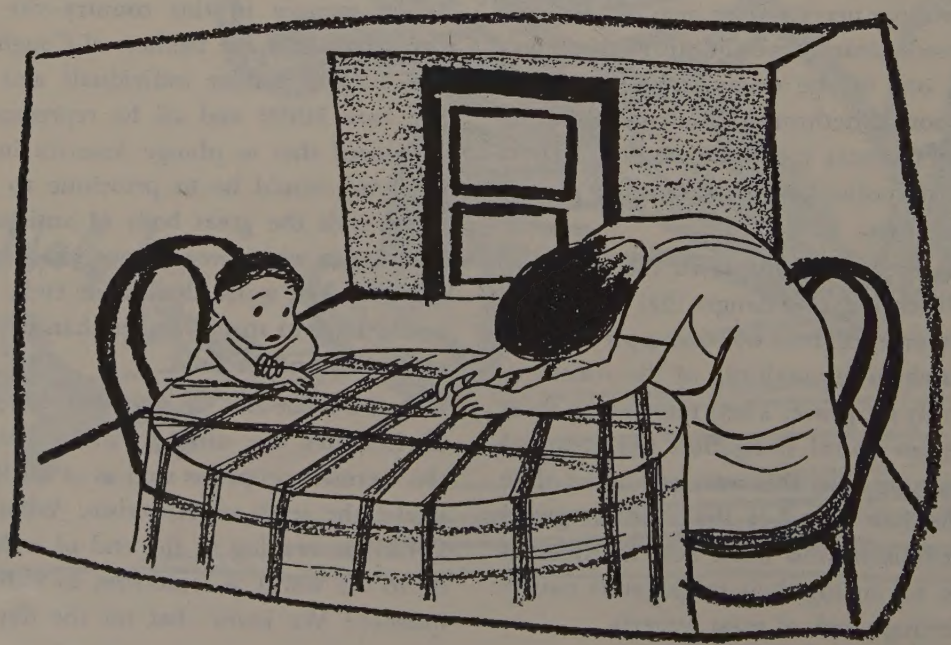
* Cf. Sir Nevile Henderson, *Failure of a Mission*, p. 12: "One cannot, just because he is a dictator, refuse to admit the great services which Signor Mussolini has rendered to Italy; nor would the world have failed to acclaim Hitler as a great German if he had known when and where to stop; even, for instance, after Munich and the Nuremberg decrees for the Jews."



Writes Our Songs

BY ALFRED J. BRENNER

JAMES P. JOHNSON

WAY uptown in a Harlem basement five or six Negro musicians are hanging around, waiting for rehearsals to begin. It is a small low-ceilinged room with an old upright piano, the kind you used to see in the old musical movies, at one end. James P. Johnson, a large black man with shirt sleeves rolled up, is sitting astride a bench at the piano, putting little marks down on the various musical sheets spread out before him. Every now and then he strikes a key with his finger. Sometimes he erases one of the little black marks. The other boys are smoking and talking. Every now and then they address a few remarks to him and he answers without stopping work on his arrangement for even a second.

What is he working on so hard? Well, there's that labor opera he is writing with Langston Hughes, the well-known Negro poet who is supplying the libretto, called *The Organizer*. The premiere is set for June 1 at Labor Stage. It should be a landmark in opera history. Besides this he has his own six-piece recording band. He has written symphonic pieces played by the Brooklyn Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Dr. Paul Kosak and helps his unemployed fellow-musicians by conducting weekly jam sessions at Trenton, N. J., for their benefit.

How did he start playing and composing music? Well, it goes pretty far back. He began on the piano when he was in knee pants, playing at high school dances and social functions and the usual ordinary affairs in which young amateur musicians are called upon to strut their stuff.

In 1916 he began to play professionally, making Aeolian rolls. In 1919 he was playing in the then-famous New York night spots—Baron's, Leroy's, Edmunds'. In that year too, he made a tour into the country, and on his way through Georgia he met five very excellent singers who happened also to be sisters. Maybe you've heard of them, the Smith sisters. There was Mamie and Bessie and Laura and Clara and Trixie. These girls who rendered the blues in its original folk quality were perhaps the best of the type in the history of jazz music. Perry Bradford who was swinging down through the South with James P. heard the Smith girls and knew that they were good. He got Mamie to make a record, the first ever made by a Negro woman. James P. did the arranging and the piano playing. The song was *Crazy Blues*. Afterward Bessie Smith came to New York and took the town by storm. And afterwards the country. And James P. was right there filling in the musical background. Meanwhile he was writing popular songs as well as playing the piano and composing serious music. His two latest songs, just published and that you'll be hearing more of, are *You You You, and Swingadilla Street.*

CALLING ALL TEACHERS

A teachers' committee representing schools throughout New York will meet Saturday, June 22, at 2 P.M. at home of Barnet Rosenberg, 165 West 20th Street, Apt. 6-J.

Address by member of *Equality* staff. Discussion of summer plans and other important matters. All teachers welcome.

The ABC of M-Day

BY COLIN CHAMBERS

What war will do to you and your friends

[What will happen to Tom, Dick, Harry, and Yours Truly if war comes? As a graphic answer, we present extracts from a not-too-imaginary diary written in a small midwestern community after the United States went to war to save democracy the second time. It visualizes the consequences of the War Department M-Day Plan to shelve civil liberties and human rights in favor of total war. The diary is followed by documentation. Keeping America at peace will keep this diary from being written.—The Editors.]

MAY 21

I AM going to write about it just as I observed it, because some day it won't seem possible such things could have happened. War swept down on Centerville six weeks ago like one of those unexpected cyclones that comes tearing into town rooting up houses, cattle, and human beings and leaving broken gas mains and wrecked buildings in its path.

That's just about what happened to our up-and-coming little city. Only it was worse, because after a cyclone you start right away rebuilding, setting things right and re-establishing communication with nearby towns to get help and food supplies.

But in this war every town around us is just another Centerville. We are all in the same boat, nobody left to set things right. It is as if the ground caved in right under our feet, just like Bob Doakes said it would if war ever came. He was one of the guys who worked down at the plant with us.

I remember the way Bob used to warn us what was coming if the country kept on making loans and selling planes. But we always took what Bob said with a grain of salt because he talked a lot and we thought he was kind of extreme like. We told him we had our democracy, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights. We had our free press and free speech. We had our Congress elected by majority vote and our Supreme Court to check up on things that went wrong. No sir, we used to tell Bob, America was too smart to be caught napping again. If the bankers wanted to make loans abroad or sell airplanes, that was their worry. If they were in danger of losing their loans they could take a gun and go fight by themselves. And if the rest of America got fooled, the Middle West wouldn't—and certainly not Centerville.

Then out of a clear sky the storm hit us smack in the face. One of those "international incidents" got it started. Bet it could have been settled if everyone had kept their heads cool. But the President kept saying a four-alarm fire was sweeping our way and making cracks that had the country all het up. If we wanted to keep out of war we must be prepared to go in, he said. Before we knew what was happening we were already in. Sort of slipped into war without any formal declaration, the way wars begin in our time. Just woke up and found ourselves at war. It was as simple as that, so far as we were let in on the goings-on.

The War Department had an emergency act all ready to rush through Congress. It was the only way to win, the President said. If Congress did not stand by the country and pass the act, he

would have to use his executive powers and put its terms into effect anyway.

Then we remembered how Bob Doakes had told us about some sort of bill the army and navy people had up their sleeves. But while we stood around hemming and hawing over what Bob had said, the bill was rushed through and signed. It was done so quickly it took our breath away.

It seemed as if no sooner had we learned that the bill was passed when we got letters in the mail telling us to register for war duty at our regular polling place. On the street car a poster was already up of a soldier with a flag waving behind him. All in colors, must have been ready a long time before. It told us to be patriotic and register early. Down at the plant we stood around talking about it and what did it mean?

Bob said he wasn't going to register and no one could make him, because the Bill of Rights was on his side.

But next morning Bob didn't show up for work. His wife Joan phoned the plant very excited. What had happened to Bob? He had left the house the night before to go over to Jim Buck's for a card game. He never reached Jim's, and Joan has never seen him to this day. The police went into the matter, but a couple of weeks ago gave it up as an "unsolved mystery."

I have a suspicion some of those Klansmen could tell plenty if they wanted to. Funny about them. Used to talk about keeping America out of Europe's wars and then switched overnight into super-patriots.

After what happened to Bob, some of the boys said maybe it was smarter to register after all. That sort of put the rest of us on the spot. Registration was picking up. Everybody was talking about it, and on every radio program a special announcer butted in to make a patriotic talk. "Push your neighbor into the recruiting station," he'd say.

Right away they set up a service committee in every neighborhood in the polling place. Hobbs, the skinflint banker everybody hates, is on the committee in our district. Also Potts, an ambulance-chasing lawyer. Before the war no other lawyer would touch him with a ten-foot pole if he could help it. Seems like the people we have always looked on as too grasping or shady for their own good have become the big patriots and good citizens.

We signed a paper and got an identification card with a number on it. We were put into four classes. Class 1 will be the first to go. Everybody tried to get out of being put in Class 1. The boys at our plant are lucky and didn't get put into this class. We are a machine shop and considered essential to the war industry.

At the registration place everybody was excited and uneasy. Something queer was being put over. The flood of high-powered publicity from the radio talks, movie shorts, headlines, and columnists built up a feeling like some catastrophe was almost on top of us.

Even our home town paper, the *Star,* turned against us. The day before the act was passed the *Star* said we should "feed America first and starve the war." Two days later the tune changed so completely we couldn't recognize our paper any more. Funny, I always thought it was a pretty square-shooting paper.

JUNE 3

I hear that down at the registration place one of the fellows hollered about the way prices are shooting up and why aren't wages going up too and why don't they curb the profiteers? The board didn't argue with him, just gave him a different rating on his registration card. He can do his complaining in the front lines from now on.

JUNE 12

It's terrible how the war propaganda is taking effect. People like Jim Duncan who had been so dead set against going into war to help the bankers, are getting so scared about a Class 1 rating that they go around denouncing "the slackers and soreheads" to be on the right side of the officials.

JUNE 19

Heard how it was the *Star* did such a somersault on the war. Seems that a soft-spoken G-man dropped sort of casual like into the *Star* office and said there was a paper shortage. The newsprint would have to be rationed. He let it be understood the government would play ball with the papers that played ball with the government.

JULY 4

(Independence Day)

They are shipping away the Negroes from down along the flats by the river. They are getting them and the poor whites off the relief rolls. They never had a chance. The Negroes were brought here during the 1917 war as cheap labor for the mushroom-like war industries. Later they were left stranded without jobs or got only unskilled or odd jobs. Under this war act cheap labor can be squeezed out of white people. The grumblers can get rated Class 1.

JULY 16

The boys at the plant are getting sore because wages won't buy the things we need any more. Anyone getting war orders is making big money, same as in the last war. But this war act they passed says wages are to be "standardized." We can't strike for higher pay because we have signed our names at the registration place and that means we are as good as in the army, even if we aren't at the front. Our state has a lot of good labor legislation, but it all went by the boards when the act was passed. The Constitution doesn't protect us any more. They tell us we should be glad to share the sacrifices with those who have to do the fighting. They don't look at war profits that way though. They say the most important thing is win the war, and that you got to offer business "incentive" to step up production.

We should have listened to Bob Doakes. . . .

AUGUST 21

Lots of white collar folk are leaving for camp. Seems like most of them got rated Class 1, at least unless they come from one of the leading families. Ed Stock was shipped off yesterday. He lived in our block, and I often used to meet him coming home. He worked in the Emporium store and said all the boys there would have to go. Jim, the delivery boy from Smith's grocery, tells me he got a Class 1 card too. He is a smart lad and gets around over town. All the stores, soda counters, auto sales rooms, filling stations, and the like are putting in girls and women or old men, Jim says. The young fellows will have to fight. Johnny, who cuts hair at the barber shop, is being sent. Also Miller, the architect, and Dana, the electrical contractor, and lots more. They are figuring on sending the high school principal, along with the men teachers of military age. (Not that we at home are much better off.)

SEPTEMBER 7

I hope nobody sees this, but I find myself wondering whether Nazism is much worse than what we're growing into. We might as well be on rations, prices are going up so fast we can't buy anything. And we're in a straitjacket so far as doing anything about it. The crowd that's running the town gets my goat too. I used to be right proud of Centerville and its civic spirit, but now the worst brass hats are shoving around the decent people. They have charge of all the local war committees. You know, the crowd that used to talk about running the "aliens" out of town. Anybody with a mind of his own was an "alien" or worse.

SEPTEMBER 19

Last night somebody smashed the windows of Shapiro, the dry goods merchant. People are getting afraid to deal there any more. His competitor has been whispering around that Shapiro is unpatriotic, which is downright silly because Shapiro has a son about to leave for the front. It was this same rival who before the war used to go around saying it was the Jews who wanted to get us in.

OCTOBER 15

Going to work this morning, we read scare headlines in the *Star* about a "sabotage plot" discovered at our plant. We hurried to work in great excitement, but found nobody who knew anything about it. The machinists are mostly immigrants who have lived in this country quite a while. I know them all because I collect their time sheets every morning. They are plain, law-abiding family men, many of them have worked at their jobs for years.

Until this happened some of them had been talking quite a bit how wages ought to go up with prices, but there isn't a bit of truth in the sabotage story. Most people are pretty skeptical about it, but they are getting afraid to open their mouths to voice any opinion.

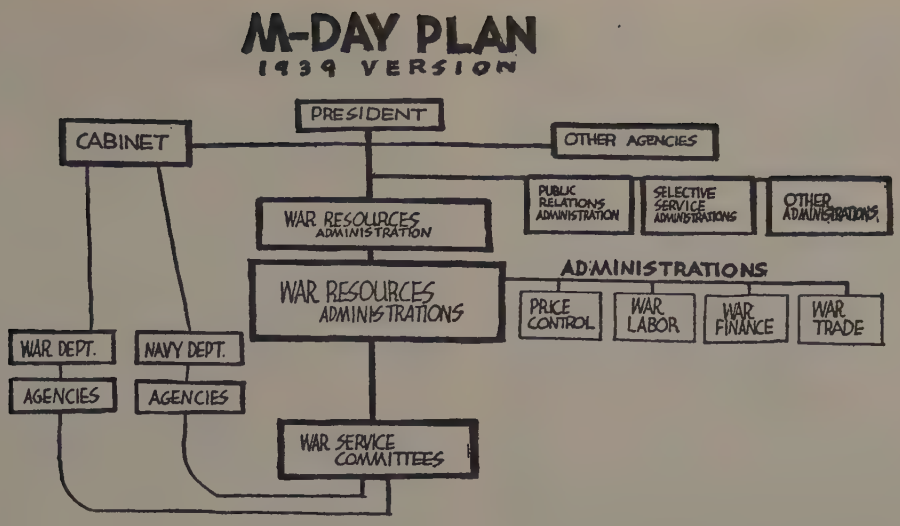
OCTOBER 27

There was a big commotion outside Reverend Sayer's church Sunday. This is how it happened. Right after the story of the sabotage plot, he came out in his sermon and said it wasn't so. Some of the accused were members of his church and he knew it wasn't true. For this Rev. Sayer got violently denounced in the paper. They called him an "enemy agent." So then this Sunday a mob of toughs stood outside the entrance to his church watching to see who would go in. Lots of the congregation passed by on the other side of the street when they saw the mob.

Rev. Jones, on the other hand, is playing safe. Before the war he was very pacifist. Now he says that Christ came not to bring peace but a sword.

MAY 4, 19 . . .

[*Years later the dairy ends*] . . . The war is over a long time now and yet things don't get any better. The war bill is still in effect, because this is the "post-war readjustment" now. We still have no freedom. Lord, this may last all our lifetimes and our children's lifetimes, because things certainly aren't getting "adjusted." We got no more freedom than the people in the dictatorships we've been fighting. The same breed of racketeers have a stranglehold on us too. As I see it, they'll never let go, come war or peace, if they can help it. The vets can't get jobs—some people tell them it's the Jews and the aliens, others that it's the Catholics. It's a horrible mess, with neighbor against neighbor, and all of us in fear and want. I shudder at what lies ahead for America. . . .



...Yes, it's true what they say about M-Day

M-Day goes into effect on the first day of war.
It means DICTATORSHIP.
Read it and see how.
Read it and fight for peace.

IS THE foregoing diary a fantasy? Is it really possible that an Act of Congress could subvert our whole system of democratic government? Are people in Washington actually working on such a bill? Are they laying plans for its quick passage? Does the President have executive powers by which he could put provisions nearly as sweeping into effect anyway? Would M-Day really set up an industrial-military dictatorship?

Sad to say, the M-Day (Industrial Mobilization) Plan is no fantasy. It is already written down in black and white. It is down in minute detail that would add up to volumes. The volumes, for the most part, are not bound and sitting on a shelf. They are in loose-leaf form, as it were—in files and safes, in map racks and chart portfolios, in War and Navy Department vaults—in shape to permit constant change. M-Day is being worked on all the time. Army and Navy people have been at it for years. At this moment, they are at it with particular vengeance. When the Nye Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry made inquiry in 1936, fourteen to fifty officers had been continuously at work since 1921. The number must be much larger today.

Many details of the plan are military secrets under lock and key. The general outlines, however, are known. This is because authorized versions have been published in summary form and because from time to time bills have been introduced into Congress on the subject. These bills, called enabling legislation, are designed to get the M-Day dictatorship off to a flying start once war is declared. A bill establishing a dictatorship would never have much chance in the parliamentary institutions of a sane people, and the prevailing sanity of the country has been sufficient, to date, to keep M-Day legislation from passing. At present there is no M-Day bill before Congress.

During or just before war, of course, it would be a different story. Then any nation, including America, might well go collectively insane.

The pattern of M-Day has been fairly well fixed since 1933 or earlier. Should war come or be imminent, one of the old M-day bills or something similar would be revived to put the scheme into effect.

If Congress should want to argue about it, the President could doubtless stretch his broad emergency powers enough to put the M-Day Plan into effect anyway. In time of war or *"when war is imminent,"* the President, under the National Defense Act of 1916 (amended in 1935), can take the following steps (and lots more):

Place compulsory priority orders for war materials under penalty of fine or imprisonment.

Appoint a Board on Mobilization of Industries Essential for Military Preparedness.

Take over and operate nitrate and munitions plants.

Under the Communications Act of 1934, he can close radio stations and demand priority for com-

munications as he sees fit. He can take possession of any system of transportation under the Federal Possessions and Control Act of 1916. Finally he is Commander-in-Chief of all military and naval forces, which alone gives enormous power.

This sounds formidable, but the M-Day Plan is far more elaborate. We need not go into its whole complicated history. To explain the workings of key agencies which would be set up under the M-Day Plan, it is sufficient to refer to a few basic documents, listed in an accompanying box and referred to in abbreviated form in this text. Details are from the 1933 or 1936 versions of the plan except where otherwise stated. The 1939 version contemplates approximately the same set-up (except for greater centralization of authority in the War Resources Administration as described below), but is much abridged as to published detail.

How "essential" are you?

No license, no business.

Want a license? O.K., then play ball.

That is just one way little business could be whipped into line under the M-Day Plan. Big business wouldn't need to be whipped. Big business leaders would be in charge of the all-important War Resources Administration. They would hold the whip handle.

Other ways of gearing America's whole economy to the war machine would be through allocation of raw materials, priority control, price control, and rationing of transportation facilities. Businesses would be classified as "essential" or "non-essential." Unless your business is essential to the prosecution of the war, you'll jolly well wait on the pleasure of the bureaucracy for supplies, fuel, freight cars and trucking service—while your working force trickles off to war. And if you're essential, you'll fill war orders first, no matter how much your regular customers fuss and fume. There will even be a board to control commercial credits and your access to the capital market.

These ends would be accomplished through the War Resources Administration. Conceived as one of the key agencies in earlier plans, it becomes all-important under the 1939 Plan. A virtual war cabinet, overshadowing the regular Cabinet and responsible directly to the President, the War Resources Administration would swing into its orbit such satellite administrations as Price Control, War Labor, War Finance, War Trade, etc. It would be composed of "patriotic business leaders" and constitute the "one major agency to coordinate. . . ."

The idea, prevalent a decade and a half ago, that excessive corporate profits would or could be taken out of the next war is considered today as so naive as to "date" anyone holding it. As long ago as 1936 the Nye Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry quoted the M-Day planners as admitting that they do not "know how to take the profits out of war and get the material we have to get" and that "our industry must at last analysis mobilize itself." M-Day, as the Nye Committee states, will be run by officials "who must and will be drawn from the very groups whose activities they are to regulate."

The dangers of conferring dictatorial powers on the War Resources Administration were well summed up by Maury Maverick, then a Democratic Representative from Texas, in his minority report on the 1938 Sheppard-May Bill:

> The power to grant licenses at will is the power of absolute control of any endeavor, big or little. It is the power of economic life or death. . . . In a situation like this when all restraint is taken off the Executive, and all power, wholly unrestrained, is vested there, one can only speculate as to what will occur. Usually in the creation of boards, those in charge of business will be the members. On spur of huge orders for armaments and commodities and supplies, these boards composed of wealthy dollar-a-year men, will naturally make "inducements" by way of more profits, rather than less. Labor wages will be fixed down. . . .

Labor in a straitjacket

Subsidiary to the War Resources Administration and its "patriotic business leaders," under the 1939 Plan, is the War Labor Board.

M-DAY DATA

Industrial Mobilization Plan, Revised 1933. Submitted by Joint Army and Navy Munitions Board. Approved by Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy.

Industrial Mobilization Plan, Revised 1936. Approved jointly: Harry H. Woodring, Acting Secretary of War; Claude A. Swanson, Secretary of the Navy.

Industrial Mobilization Plan, Revision of 1939. Approved jointly: Louis Johnson, Acting Secretary of War; Charles Edison, Acting Secretary of the Navy. Printed as Senate Document No. 134, 76th Congress, 2nd Session.

Sheppard-Hill Bill. Introduced in 75th Congress, 1st Session, as *S. 25* and *H.R. 1954* to implement 1936 Plan.

Sheppard-May Bill. Introduced in 75th Congress, 3rd Session, as *H.R. 9604.*

Report No. 944, Part 4. Published by Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry (Nye Committee). Government Printing Office. Also voluminous testimony of Nye Committee hearings.

Minority Report No. 1870 to the 75th Congress, 3rd Session. Government Printing Office. Out of print. (Maverick report on Sheppard-May Bill.)

You're in the army now. This, in effect, is what all labor would be told.

It would be argued that while it is impracticable to curb profits, wages must be "standardized" in order to win the war. Strike talk would be met by the threat of conscription, of putting leaders or the entire working force under military discipline. The threat of withholding food allowances could be used as a club over the head of wage-earners. Altered ratings for military service would be another. Labor legislation would be suspended.

Indulging our imaginations? Oh no, it was all thought out before we got to the subject. It's in the Plan.

Under the 1933 Plan, the President can place under military discipline "any person subject to registration who is liable to service, however classified or wherever residing." The 1936 Plan (see "Industrial Management Provisions") permits the Secretary of War to remove a worker from an industrial position "and assign him to any service within the jurisdiction of the said War Department." The Nye Committee, analyzing the 1933 Plan, found its provisions could be used to:

Effect and enforce a draft of labor.

Remove the right of any laborer to refuse employment in private industry under conditions or at wages which do not satisfy his needs.

Call into military service any union or other representatives of labor.

Remove the spokesman from the plant involved to other plants or into active service.

Cut off the food allowance of strikers.

Use military forces to operate industrial plants while in uniform.

Induct the workers in any plant into military service, forcing them to work under military orders.

"The actual control over wages," the Nye Committee found, "is delegated to the price control committee." Price Control, under the 1936 Plan, includes formulation of policies "for the stabilization of fair wages."

The scanty regard in which protective legislation and trade union agreements would be held is indicated by the following quotation from the 1936 Plan:

For several reasons, the statutes of the various States prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women in industry. Other restrictions are brought about through regulations issued by various authorized Federal and State agencies, by agreements with trade unions, and in other ways. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the Nation or the workers. In a national emergency much of this expedience is lost and the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions may well be suspended.

"Print this, don't print that!"

Look behind words to meanings.

Public Relations Administration means censorship and steamroller propaganda. It means the end of the Bill of Rights.

The 1933 Plan is rather frank about this. The 1936 Plan is vaguer, but we may be sure the intent of the war and navy planners has not changed.

According to the earlier version, the Public Relations Administration would:

Control the giving of information to the public regarding matters of military import, and, on the other hand, make known in an authoritative manner such information as it is right and proper that the public should have.

Mobilize all existing mediums of publicity so that they may be employed to the best possible advantage.

Combat disaffection at home.

Combat enemy propaganda at home and abroad.

Establish rules and regulations for censorship.

Enlist and supervise a voluntary censorship of the newspaper and periodical press.

If such frankness strikes the public as heavy-handed, censorship can be enforced and propaganda diffused by applying the licensing system to publications and other media, by rationing the paper supply, and by various "priority" controls over materials and labor. Says Maverick:

Newspapers are subject to every other provision—registration, draft, and hedged around in such a way as to easily eliminate the freedom of the press. Newsprint could be denied or placed at prohibitive price levels.

When Lieutenant Colonel Harris, chief of the War Department's planning staff, appeared before the Nye Committee, he told them that "any ingenious man, familiar with the newspaper business, could in two hours work out forty different ways to establish a press censorship."

How the draft works

To register, examine, and classify the male population of military age, to provide an army of 4,000,000 men quickly, and to ride herd on the rest —that would be the job of the Selective Service Administration. It already exists in skeletonal form in your community.

Every step is figured out. Thirty days after M-Day the first draftees are on their way to camp.

Registration would take place at regular voting precincts on a date proclaimed by the President. Registration cards go to a local board which decides "who is to go to war and who is to stay at home." You would be put into one of four classes:

Class 1: Immediately available for induction into the armed forces.

(Continued on page 33)

Protestants and Anti-Semitism

BY REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER

Editor of CHURCHMAN deplores vicious table talk but finds clergy is combating intolerance

RACIAL hatred is so infantile that one is in a state of continuing amazement that it must be discussed in the twentieth century and that its black shadow hangs, as it does, over modern civilization. That it should be so strong in the United States as to constitute a menace is even more fantastic. We like to pride ourselves on our spirit of fellowship. We like to talk of our frontier days, of the complex out of which we have emerged, of the various strains out of many nations which have gone into the fabric of which we are a part, from which our spirit of fellowship has stemmed. But when that spirit is put to test in daily contacts it wanes swiftly, the operations of our upper brain are suspended and replaced by the master hatreds of the jungle, reminding us that we escaped from the trees only yesterday—or it should so remind us. And there is no more painful experience than this recognition by thoughtful people—the realization that centuries of striving for a conduct of life based on carefully wrought ethical concepts can so easily go out the window.

While racial hatreds in the United States are by no means confined to anti-Semitism, this particular form of jungle conduct has long been dominant, inspired by such alleged intellectual lights as Coughlin, Pelley, et. al, but gleefully aided and abetted by multitudes unable to draw a distinction between thought and emotion. If Coughlin had the capacity to reverse his outlook tomorrow and to preach those ethical decencies which his religion commands him to preach, he could not remove, however long he lived, the strain he has placed on American life. He has twisted and tortured the minds of the morons into vicious hatreds—and moronic minds are highly and lastingly suggestible.

Anti-Semitism in Christian homes

Perhaps we can forgive the morons; it is hardly wise to forget them. But what one finds hard to forgive is the anti-Semitism so persistently spread by those who are somewhere above the level of the moron, though their indulgence in racial hatred marks the margin as slight. It is far more difficult to forgive those members of Christian churches whose dinner-tables are shamefully disgraced by obscene attacks on their fellow-citizens of the Jewish race. It is no good denying that this kind of thing happens or that it is common. I know, because I have heard it times without number. I should be astounded to be told, on good authority, that there is any Christian congregation in the United States where it has not happened.

Recently a Wall Street man told me of a men's dinner to which he was invited by a business associate. "I didn't know what sort of an affair it was to be," he said. "But when I got there I discovered that it was a moral rearmament dinner, held under the auspices of the Buchmanites. There were about sixty guests, most of them Wall Street men and practically all of them members of churches. Now I have heard a good deal of anti-Semitic talk around dinner tables, but I swear to you that I have never heard so much, or anything so vicious, as I heard that night." Which leads one to speculate on the meaning of the phrase "moral rearmament"!

If there is in Christianity any more basic principle of conduct than that which is inherent in the story of the Good Samaritan it has escaped my notice, though I dare say that the subtle racial teaching in that story has escaped the notice of the majority of Christians. But however obscure the meaning of that parable may be to any Christian, no one who has learned anything at all of the ethics of Christianity can excuse himself for indulgence in racial animosity, for the very essence of his religion is rooted and grounded in personal relationships based on the supreme worth of the individual. To say that anti-

Semitism is a violation of this fundamental principle is but to echo the obvious.

Clergy fight the good fight

It would be rash to assert that among those in the Christian church who indulge in anti-Semitism there are no clergymen. But it is safe to say that these specimens are rare. It is equally true that the strongest campaign against anti-Semitism in the United States is being carried on under the leadership of clergymen of the Christian church. Neither in public nor in private do the rank-and-file of the clergy degrade their profession and their religion by anti-Semitic propaganda or conversation. On the contrary, they deplore such a basic violation of the Christian ethic by their parishioners, and thousands upon thousands of them condemn publicly such violations in plain blunt words.

Furthermore, various clerical organizations have gone on record these many years with strong resolutions condemning race hatreds. This is doing no more than their plain duty. No clergyman gifted with the most primary capacity for thinking, and anything approaching integrity, could read the story of the Good Samaritan before his congregation, or propound any of the fundamental principles of his religion in his sermons, and at the same time promote racial hatreds. It is a shameful commentary on the sincerity of thousands of Christian laymen, who have taken vows, as binding as those taken by any clergyman, to uphold the Christian ethic, that the same thing cannot be said of them.

Protestant journals come through

Not only are clergymen taking a lead in condemning anti-Semitism. The most outstanding religious journals of the Protestant churches in the country have been combating this dangerous poison for years. The editors of these journals are not, as those unfamiliar with their publications sometimes believe, mealy-mouthed prophets of comfort, cheap peddlers of smooth sayings. When they hit, they hit hard and I know of none who "can't take it" on the chin from irate readers in return, and let go another swing from the shoulder in his next issue. The prophetic influence of these free journals in the social order, in combating such idiocies as anti-Semitism, is not recorded on the front pages of the daily press but that influence is none-the-less widespread and far more potent than is generally known. They reach the leaders of religious movements throughout the country, who in turn respond to their trenchant demands for action. Since these journals are non-commercial enterprises there are no "sacred cows," advertising or otherwise, to whisper "pull your punches"; and when they speak their readers know that there is integrity behind their words.

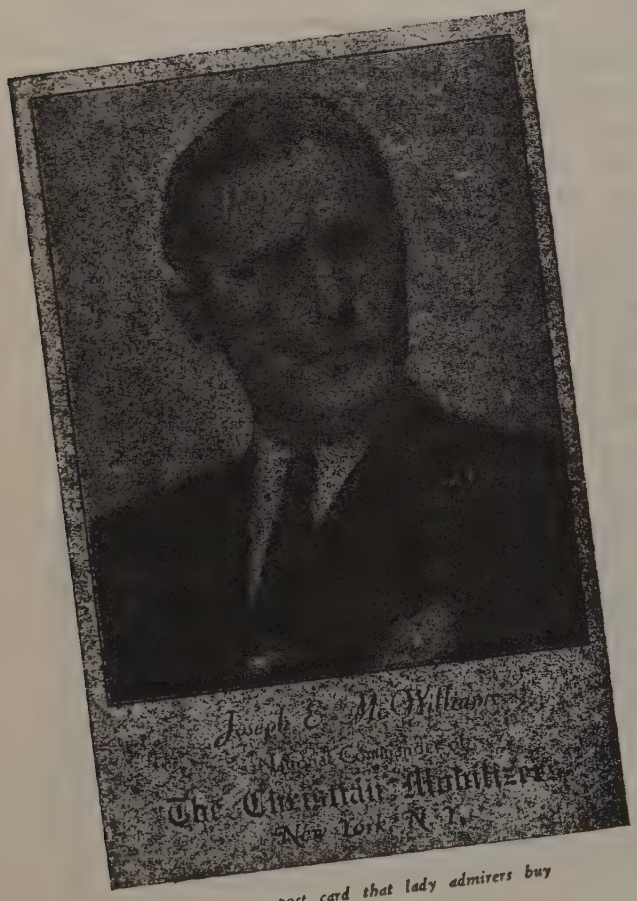
Many official groups representing Protestant churches have passed resolutions condemning anti-Semitism, one of the most recent emanating from the Methodists. Their general conference called upon Christians and Christian organizations to "expose the un-Christian character of this propaganda" and asserted that "anti-Semitism is one of the banners around which the anti-democratic forces are being rallied in the United States." Recently an entire issue of *Information Service*, official publication of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, representing 20,000,000 Protestants, was devoted to "current manifestations of organized anti-Semitism." It canvassed the entire history of anti-Semitism, cited the pseudo-patriotic groups through which it is being spread, and the various methods being used to combat it, and added specific suggestions of methods by which Christian groups could help overcome it. The Federal Council of Churches has sponsored many national radio broadcasts in behalf of the victims of racial hatred and under the same auspices several days of prayer have been initiated.

Perhaps some day we shall become mature enough to live out Lincoln's dictum, *With malice toward none.*

FATHER COUGHLIN: *You wipe out the bad Jews, partner, and I'll take care of my half.*

The Dictator Racket of Joe McWilliams

BY MAURICE GOODENOUGH



Picture post card that lady admirers buy

A man who wants to be America's fuehrer— his revealing life story and the forces that shaped him

FANNY BERGMAN and her husband have grown old together in the South Bronx. For the last twenty years they've kept their little stationery store on 138th Street, living in the rear. The days are long, 7 A.M. to 1 A.M., but about a year ago a Miss Post began coming in to help.

One night last August, while Mr. Bergman was away, Fanny and Miss Post were waiting on customers. They heard shouting from the street, an indistinguishable roar of voices. They listened, and a chill of terror came over them.

"It's them Mobilizers," said Fanny.

She remembered the committee demanding they stop selling Christian religious articles. She had been forced to remove them under fear of threats. The two hurried to the door to see an angry mob passing. Pushing and shouting they kept coming, two thousand, maybe more. A shrill voice rose from the din:

"Kill the Jew bastards."

A chorus followed: "Dirty Jews, lousy Jews, Jew bastards, we'll drive you out of the country."

Miss Post and Fanny stood outside the door, gazing with held breath as the mob moved toward Willis Avenue in the direction of the police station. Suddenly they were observed. Fingers pointed and a shout rose: "Boycott that store, boycott that store!" Three women dropped from the passing mob to approach Mrs. Bergman, their faces screwed in rage as they shrieked at her:

"You dirty Jew bastard, you prostitute, you're worse than a prostitute." Their fists shook in her face. "We'll drive you out of that store, you're long enough; you were twenty years in that store, give somebody else a chance."

It was a night for the Mobilizers.

Later when Sergeant McAllister came by, tears filled Mrs. Bergman's eyes. "I am 62 years old," she said, "And nobody's ever called me that."

The Bronx got to know the Mobilizers, as well as some sections of Brooklyn and Manhattan. Their street meetings rose to twenty-five in a single week. Their spectacles at Innisfail Park rivalled those of Dr. Goebbels. It was here on August 23 that the "Christian" Mobilizers staged a show for several thousand spectators. Bundists goose-stepped with

storm troopers, while Father Duffy's Cadets, a children's band, paraded in white uniforms trimmed in red, under the proud eyes of the Mobilizers' "Christian" Guard. Behind a platform swathed in patriotic bunting, floodlights played on a blue backdrop with three huge white crosses. Sadly reminiscent of the Nazi swastika, they are the Mobilizers' emblem to replace the Stars and Stripes.

Like chunks of raw meat thrown into a den of wild animals were the slogans and sallies of the guest speaker, George Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White Camellia.

"I'm not content to walk in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. I want to walk ahead of him with a club," he shouted into the microphone, to yelps of appreciation from the audience.

His words, however, were only an appetizer to a crowd there to hear someone else. Had you been a stranger, you would not have missed the proud, possessive movements of the man they watched, as he strode about the platform, shaking hands, giving orders, and making his importance abundantly evident—a well-built figure, muscular and shining with good looks as if he had stepped from a movie magazine.

When it came this man's turn to speak, a special chairman stepped to the microphone to do the honors. Amid deafening applause, the chairman shouted:

"I now give you JOSEPH McWILLIAMS, National Commander of the Christian Mobilizers!"

* * *

On a rainy afternoon last month I called Joe McWilliams about an interview for an article in *Equality*. I must have got him out of bed. He yawned his doubts of the value of such an interview over the phone, but finally decided to give me thirty minutes after 3 P.M.

McWilliams lives in middle class comfort at the Pickwick Arms on Manhattan's East 51st Street. When I arrived at 3:15 he was finishing breakfast. Smiling, he extended his hand. "I'm very glad to meet you," he said. "Won't you join me in something to eat?" I felt the personal magnetism of the man. He's a movie hero type all right: tall, dark, and handsome but even better looking. His manner was suave. He knows how to make one feel at ease. Not for nothing has he devoted years to promoting gadgets, schemes, ideologies.

"Mr. McWilliams," I began, "I've heard and read a lot about you and the Christian Mobilizers, both in favor and against you. I want to get your story first hand. What does your organization stand for? What is your program? Just what are you trying to accomplish?"

"Well," he began (his voice still has the Oklahoma twang), "I don't know what there is your magazine doesn't already know about me. You know I'm against Jews and I'm against the Allies."

"Do you mean you favor Germany, that you're pro-Hitler?" I asked.

"I'm not pro-anything except pro-American." He was emphatic. "All of America's troubles come from a preoccupation with affairs in Europe and Asia. I regret there had to be a Hitler to show the way. I regret there was not first a McWilliams in America."

"You mentioned you're against the Jews and the Allies. What are you for?" I asked.

"You see," he explained, "I'm the leader of an American Nationalist movement. I'm what you might call the only true Nationalist in America. There are only ten men, all of them in the Christian Mobilizers, who really understand the problems of this country."

Joe on the Jews

"Mr. McWilliams, could you tell me what these problems are, and what you intend to do about them?"

"Well, first there is the racial problem, the Jewish problem. Now I'm not saying that there are only ten of us who understand this problem. I'm talking about all of America's problems: the unemployment, the labor problem, the investment problem, and—."

"Let's start with the Jewish problem," I interrupted.

"In order for white men, by that I mean the Euro-Americans, to attain their supreme destiny, we must first kick out the kikes. The Jews are the pollution and the degradation of our national life. They're a small minority wherever they are; but they must exert, they must rule, they must control." His fist opened and closed, clinching tight on his verbs. For lack of facts, he turned to analogy: "It's like you had a cornfield and there were a lot of weeds in it. The corn wouldn't grow. It would be short and scrubby." He gestured with his hands as though performing for an audience. "Now the Jews are the weeds in our national cornfield, and if we're going to grow corn, we gotta chop out the weeds."

"When did you come to this conclusion?" I asked. "Didn't you have a great many Jewish friends?"

"It wasn't until two years ago I woke up to what

the Jews were doing. Sure I had Jewish friends. I was dumb. I was just like you." He was talking to me like a brother, he assured me; there was nothing personal. "The Jews paint a beautiful picture and say, 'Look, isn't this wonderful, this is democracy,' and you, you're what they call the Goy, you stand there with your mouth open and say, 'Yeah, it's swell, it's the truth.' The Jews have it all figured out and you just lap it up. When I found out what the Jews really are I never had a thing to do with another Jew."

"You discovered this through your Jewish friends, or are they what you would call 'good Jews'?"

"I have nothing personal against any of my former Jewish friends. I'm not saying that there are not some individual Jews who may not be good, but it's a question of race. It's the question: Are the white Americans to reach their supreme destiny? I didn't make races, God did. I simply recognize God's work."

I wondered if it could be possible that God had made a mistake which it was McWilliams' duty to correct.

McWilliams assured me that Hitler would win the war. "It's got to be that way because the British Empire doesn't make sense." Great Britain, he says, is an inefficient system which cannot compete with what he calls the nationalist system of intensive exploitation of Germany, Japan, and Italy.

"Where is all this nationalism leading to?" I asked, "Isn't it bound to result in wars?"

McWilliams assured me there was no danger. Fascists were reasonable and easy to talk to. The future world would be divided into two spheres of influence: the eastern hemisphere under Hitlerized Germany, the western under McWilliamized America. I was wondering if modesty did not prevent him from disclosing an ultimate plan to doublecross Hitler and take the world for himself.

We retired to the hotel lobby. McWilliams ordered Coca Cola. The interview continued two hours.

Below I give you the amazing story of McWilliams' life—amazing not because it is the story of one man but as a case history of a type new to America. Much of this story is drawn from his own statements; for the rest I investigated many different sources.

* * *

Joseph Ellesbury McWilliams was born on his grandfather's homestead at Hitchcock, Oklahoma, on March 23, 1904.

In 1923 a train of cattle steamed west carrying Joe McWilliams with it. Los Angeles was a growing city in need of young laborers. Joe thought this was the "new horizon" he was looking for. It was his first contact with the great outside world, and young ambition was stirred by the promise of great future. He moved into a furnished room off Grand Avenue in South Los Angeles and drove a truck for the Pacific Pipe and Supply Company, delivering materials for swanky homes going up in Beverly Hills. "I would still prefer to be a truck-driver," he says. "It's better for the soul than anything I know."

As well as a strong back, McWilliams had an active mind that conceived a tool to aid pipefitters. He made drawings and applied for a patent. After working one autumn in the harvest, he came to New York to market his invention. This was in 1925, McWilliams was 21, Coolidge was President, and prosperity would never end. He sold his application, for what is now called the 444 Giant Grip Plier, to Smith and Hemingway's Red Devil Tool Company. Their plant was at 130 Green Street, Irvington, New

How to be a Fuehrer in 12 Easy Lessons or, Handsome Joe Makes Good in the Big City

Never make good at honest work. Get kicked around so you'll have a Kampf to write home about.

Come to the Big City. Be an Idea Man. Play around with one scheme after another. Some day THE idea will come.

Meanwhile sponge off your friends. Maybe there are some Jewish boys you can stay with and eat off of.

Jersey, and McWilliams went on the payroll as salesman and idea man. A year later, when Red Devil was taken over by the Crescent Tool Company of Jamestown, New York, the company took McWilliams as well. For two and a half years he worked out of Jamestown. Here he met Dorothy Meredith whom he later married.

Until 1930 McWilliams' interests were those of any bright young American of meager education. He seems to have had neither knowledge nor interest in problems not personal. It is doubtful if he knew many Jews, and his later experience with them could not possibly be the basis for his present ideas.

In the summer of 1930, over Gillis's Delicatessen on Manhattan's West 72nd Street, lived two young Jews, Ray Halpern and Jerome Shapiro, the latter just out of Harvard Law School. They had many friends like themselves, serious-minded young men alert to social and political problems. The apartment was often the scene of heated friendly discussion. McWilliams joined this group and from them chose his best friends to be with them periodically for months on end during the next eight years. All of them were Jews. For two years he lived with Ray Halpern, his best friend until Joe went fascist.

What McWilliams lacked in intellectual background he made up in other ways. He is remembered by many as the best-looking young man they knew, a "screwball" who was able to impress people with his ingratiating manners. Shapiro describes Joe's outstanding talent: "He was a positive genius at picking up dolls." He neither drank nor smoked and doesn't now. "I have no bad habits but women," a friend quotes him as saying. Former associates tell of his pride in promiscuous relations, the proportions of which have been embellished in tall tales of how he shared the affections of an impressive number of women within a month, how he won a bet that he could gain the confidence of any woman pointed out to him on Broadway.

During the thirties, one notices McWilliams running through many shades of political opinion, motivated by vanity, egoism, and lust for personal gain.

"I may be broke now," he would often say, "but if this goes through I'll be rich." It's a statement he made recently regarding his present adventure with the Mobilizers.

Early in the decade his opinions favored national expansion. Hoover was his choice in 1932. He spoke much of manifest destiny, declaring we should take Canada and Mexico. This idea seems to have been strengthened by one of the few books he ever read, *Pole to Panama,* a jingoistic volume by Major Frank Pease. On a friend's advice he tried to read Beard's *Rise of American Civilization.* It proved too hard.

Gifted borrower

Friends remember him as always hard-pressed or dead broke, but in truth the 1930's were alternate feast and famine for McWilliams. He was a frequent and heavy borrower, and his bad debts are large. He never hesitated to use his friends.

"I'm tough and no Jew has ever taken advantage of me," McWilliams told me. "But I've taken advantage of—" He was about to say too much, then continued: "I've always been able to hold my own with the Jews."

Until 1934 he did well by himself but had little to show for it. Standard Safety Razor paid him $100 a week for a year and a half, and in 1932 he sold Gillette Razor a patent for $20,000. With the money he flew to Mexico, got married, and in six months came back to New York so broke he couldn't pay

Help causes like Spain. Maybe you don't realize it yet, but later you can tell inside stories about "Jew-Communist plots."

Eureka! At last THE idea! Bait the Jews! Why didn't I think of that before?

Life begins at Columbus Circle. Tell 'em the Jews cause sunspots, poliomyelitis, and slot machines that don't deliver the gum.

his income tax. During these years McWilliams invented other gadgets which are still manufactured and sold. One of these inventions is the "Rubberalla," an umbrella with a pair of rubbers in the handle. These inventions were financed by his Jewish friends or their friends.

Fickle enthusiast and restless idea man, Joe was forever seeking *the* big idea that would boost him to fame and fortune. The depression, like a storm, was bringing strange fish to the surface. Among them was Joseph McWilliams.

After Roosevelt came into office McWilliams' political pendulum began swinging left. He has always been against the President, and in those days called him a confused liberal. Confused himself, McWilliams was floundering for something to promote. His "conscience" had been pricked by various splinters of the left, for he thought the revolution was "just around the corner." McWilliams was looking for a lease on the first floor. He is said to have taken classes at the New Workers School, and in 1935 took Shapiro to a lecture there and afterwards introduced him to Jay Lovestone. It was at this time, while living with his wife at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, that he came down with rheumatic fever and was in bed for several weeks. Friends were afraid he would die. They say this sickness affected his heart and his politics. I am told many of his "social ideals" stem from this period. His Jewish doctor sent him to Sarasota, Florida, to recover. There he had an opportunity to read and ponder. In the spring he returned more anti-capitalist than ever.

McWilliams has never been able to carry on a conversation or take part in a discussion. He lectures to one person as though he had an audience. He used to rant against the "fascists," Hitler and Mussolini, and among them he placed Lindbergh and Bruce Barton. "Their blood will run in the gutters," he would say, a phrase he still overworks. In tune with the times he talked much against business monopoly, imperialism, and the "evils" of capitalism. Exactly what he did believe in was not clear even to his friends.

In 1936 McWilliams began arming his budding political ambitions with new weapons. He launched a campaign to improve his English and talked about running for Congress. He studied public speaking at the W.P.A. Center Street School, practicing oratory in synagogues before Jewish men's clubs. He denounced Hitler and called for Jewish rights in Palestine. His talks were characterized by a bitter attack against some enemy and a lofty scorn for his audience.

"The only way you can lead people," he told a friend, "is to give them something to fear and something to hate."

What his speeches lacked in thought and clarity was made up for by bombastic dramatics. He was learning the tricks of the fascist demagogue, though his nominal allegiance was still to the liberal side. He championed the Spanish loyalists and bombarded the "fascists" with verbal machine-gun fire.

Dorothy Meredith, McWilliams' wife, is described as a capable young woman of average attractiveness. McWilliams, however, tired of her as he tires of everything. He seems to have lived with her only when forced to by economic necessity. She is held in high regard by most of their former friends. "She's one of the finest young women I've ever known," said one. "Please don't write anything that might hurt her." She is not interested in politics, and it is said her only interest in the Mobilizers is a hope

Tell em the Jews are bankers and reds at the same time.

Suddenly become religious. That helps get people excited. By this time you can hire a hall.

Stay away from vices—except women. Treat *them* rough. They love it—and remember, the woman pays!

that her husband "will succeed in something." In the fall and winter of 1938 McWilliams phoned her almost every morning and spent week-ends in her company. He would joke about their relationship to others, calling it his "family duty." He philandered meanwhile with numerous other women, exhibiting their nude pictures with pride.

In January 1939 McWilliams again went to Sarasota, Florida, for his "health." His partners tell me he had completely recovered but was too lazy to work. He had persuaded them that while South he could promote the rubber key-case they were then manufacturing. Of the next three months he devoted four days to business, but received his check for $50 every week. In February he wrote that he had a "Barnum brainstorm" by which he could get national publicity for himself and promote the key-case at the same time. It developed that his brainstorm was a plan to tour the South with a fleet of black hearses speaking against war for the American League for Peace and Democracy and selling the rubber key-case to his audiences. The plan was not carried out. However, he is said to have made some speeches, one in Atlanta, Georgia, and it is possible that he made contact with the Klan then.

Joe finds the idea

Just as Hitler was seizing the rest of Czechoslovakia, McWilliams returned to New York. Friends noticed that a change had come over him. He was defending Chamberlain's appeasement policy. By the end of April 1939, McWilliams had made his debut as a speaker for the American Nationalist Party. With the opening of the World's Fair, the sidewalks of New York became the scene of pro-Hitler anti-Semitic meetings. The German-American Bund was behind the movement, and tied in was Father Coughlin's Christian Front in which McWilliams became a leader.

In May and June of last year the Christian Front launched a campaign of street terror, insulting and beating people who "looked" Jewish. This was the policy McWilliams favored, and it frequently got the Front into trouble. In July Coughlin sent down word to switch to the subtler "I don't hate Jews but—" approach. McWilliams would not tone down his attack, and the Front kicked him out. He formed the Mobilizers, taking with him the roughest, toughest element. For lieutenants he chose men with criminal records ranging from grand larceny to rape. Their violence outdid that of the Front. "The Mobilizers is no pussyfooting organization," he says.

McWilliams has certain talents for fascist leadership—and certainly the requisite egomania. Those who see only his instability, his tendency to run off at crackpot tangents, forget that in certain combinations of circumstances such a man can be exceedingly dangerous. Certainly in 1922 Hitler's prospects and qualifications for power must have seemed poorer than McWilliams' today. Joe's bombastic insults appeal to the rugged spirits of the gin mill boys, and he is at home in a street fight or a Park Avenue parlor. His audiences seem to love his obvious contempt for them. McWilliams, as an individual, may well peter out, as scores of rival would-be fuehrers, in the absence of money and direction, necessarily must. What matters is that the times are enough out of joint to place a premium on the disorganized personality of a McWilliams and feed his consuming ambition.

"We don't have enough leaders now, that's all that holds us back," McWilliams told me. "It's hard

Do your bit for juvenile delinquency. Round up the neighborhood toughs, dress 'em up, and form a mob to "protect" your meetings.

Defend yourself against Jewish couples out for a Sunday afternoon stroll. This will bring home the Jewish peril to the American people.

Some day, if there is dirty work to be done, your backer will come riding. And when backing comes, can DER TAG be far behind?

to get men able to understand this problem. You see the people we have to deal with are so ignorant—" He paused at this unwitting confession, then added, "of—of—what the Jews are trying to do to them."

Last summer and fall McWilliams seemed to have plenty of money. He and his lieutenants, shabby before, were always well-dressed. Innisfail Park meetings cost close to a thousand each. He paid speakers to handle four and five meetings a night and published a weekly paper, the *Christian Mobilizer*, along with tons of literature and leaflets. The money for all this certainly didn't come from his gin mill boys, but the Park Avenue parlors might explain it. At that time he was having conferences with certain people with Wall Street connections, and was the week-end guest of one of America's wealthiest dowagers. His stock talk against Democracy was to insist that America was a Republic and should have a a Republican form of government. At the same time he was saying confidentially that if the Republicans got into office in 1940 he would be rich. About this time he formed an alliance with the German-American Bund, a source of support he still has. After war started in Europe McWilliams seems to have lost some financial backing, for his paper folded after two issues, his meetings grew fewer and less spectacular, and at last he gave up his headquarters at Tri-Boro Palace. His winter audiences had a disproportionate number of women over thirty-five. Along with German sources, it's a good guess to suppose that among them is the answer to a young man's prayer.

The wide belief that McWilliams is tied up with the Ku Klux Klan is based on his presence in Atlanta last Labor Day at the time of a big Klan pow-wow. He assures me he has no Klan ties, that his Atlanta trip was for a conference with General George Van Horn Moseley. He volunteered, however, that he approved the principles of the Klan, everything except its anti-Catholic program. While I was talking, a hungry-looking Irishman came in whom he introduced as Mr. Hoag, one of his undercover agents. While McWilliams was called to the telephone, Hoag attempted to carry on in his absence.

"You see," explained Hoag, "the Mobilizers is small but the movement is large. There are some wonderful organizations working in the West and in the South."

"What organizations?" I asked.

"There's the Ku Klux Klan in the South. That's a wonderful organization, really wonderful."

"Mr. Hoag, aren't you a Catholic?"

"Yes, I'm a Catholic," he answered.

"Well," I replied, "don't you know the Ku Klux Klan is against Catholics?"

"I don't believe it," he told me, "I really don't believe it."

Religion gets people excited

McWilliams frankly states his goal, to establish a fascist dictatorship in America. He calls it a "non-military" fascism, and in the same breath reveals his plan to build the largest army and navy in the world. He talks mostly about kicking out the Jews, invading Canada, restoring God to His "rightful place," and running the country on the principles of Jesus Christ. He makes much of his Christianity, but I can't discover a time when he ever went to church. His friends believe him to be an atheist. When I questioned him about his Christianity, he waved me off with a gesture indicating I should know better than to ask.

"This religious stuff is just something to get people excited about," he said.

There has been a heavy turnover among Mobilizer leaders. New names and faces continue to appear on their platform. McWilliams has only two of his original men left, one Stewart and one Monohan. His ex-convicts have started a rival organization, the American Unity Party. Most Mobilizer spokesmen call for violent destruction of the Jews. An exception was a lawyer named Frank Walsh whose speeches were concocted of legalistic terminology. During this period of legal influence McWilliams would threaten his enemies with a mandamus writ. After Walsh left he quickly reverted to his "blood in the gutters," and "We'll hang them on telephone poles!"

After a comparatively quiet winter the Mobilizers have again taken to the streets, and again money seems to be no problem. The Bronx and Manhattan have already witnessed a score of meetings. McWilliams now calls his organization the American Destiny Party and says he will run for Congress from the 18th District. New York's first fascist candidate, McWilliams has Yorkville, stronghold of the Nazi Bund, as part of his district. His new emblem is the covered wagon. He plans to have a fleet of them circulating through Yorkville from which to deliver his speeches. Speaking to a packed house at Yorkville's Franziskaner Hall on May 13, McWilliams announced:

I'm forming the militantest, fightingest, roughest, toughest, political party America has ever seen. I'm gathering around

(*Continued on page* 33)

The Jews and Peace

Anti-Semitism is fomented around real issues; let's not fight it with abstractions alone

EVERY once in a while someone tells us that we should fight anti-Semitism, yes, but in a non-controversial sort of way, not taking up current issues like war and civil liberties, where we are liable to step on someone's toes. We should continue publicizing lofty utterances about the equality of all men in the eyes of God and on the scales of reason; we should recount again the distinguished record of the Jews in science, religion, philosophy, philanthropy, and statesmanship; but we should never, never tread dangerous ground like the Dies Committee, the peace issue, the anti-lynching bill, or Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's private card index of liberals and radicals.

Obviously we disagree. And we disagree because we don't think you can *combat* anti-Semitism adequately by means of abstract truths alone while the Coughlinites and their allies are *making* anti-Semitism through skillful misrepresentation of the live, vital issues of the day. We don't believe in letting Father Coughlin or Joe McWilliams get away with the claim that they alone are concerned over matters close to people's hearts and lives today—a concern they are turning to demagogic, Jew-baiting ends—while we retire in quiet dignity to our generalities about brotherhood and tolerance.

When Joe McWilliams shouts to hundreds of Americans each week that this is a Jewish war, and that if you want to keep out of it you must follow him, is our rejoinder to be that Spinoza and Maimonides, both Jews, are numbered among the world's greatest philosophers? Or when we see witch-hunting being whipped up into a storm that bodes no good to any minority, are we to write an essay on the eternal verities? Timid friends imply that we should. We think not.

Every Wednesday night Joe McWilliams dedicates his considerable talents of vocal chord and body muscle to the proposition that every Jew in the United States is moving heaven and earth to get this country into a war to "save the Jewish-British Empire." On April 24, he said:

"I know that if the Jews finally drag us into this war, I will be put away. But I am not afraid to go to prison. I am young, and I am strong. I can wait. I can wait, while two million of our fine American boys are killed on Europe's battlefields, while the national debt goes up another fifty billion dollars. Then, when the country is in ruins, when the survivors of the war straggle back to these shores, I will come out of prison. And I won't need to say a word against the Jews. The American people will do the talking. There won't be enough telegraph posts on which to hang the warmongers. So if you want to do a good deed, go out and plant a telegraph post."

A frenzied crowd cheers this lying gospel of hate. It is not primarily a crowd of irresponsible young hoodlums, as many think. It is primarily a crowd of men and women in their thirties and forties and fifties—a bit on the shabby side, workers and shopkeepers perhaps, people who have felt hard knocks and want to know whom to blame. McWilliams gives them an answer. It is a false answer, but many of them do not know that and believe him.

Are we going to give these people the impression—and millions of others whom Joe McWilliams hasn't reached yet, but hopes to—that if they want Spinoza they can come to us, but if they want peace, they must follow McWilliams?

Or are we tolerance folk going to say: If you want peace, don't go to Joe McWilliams. His peace is a phony peace. He says he is for peace, but he is betting on war, because war will serve his ends. We, like you, are for peace, because peace will serve the ends of life and happiness and a decent country in which to live. Take your place alongside us who uphold the rights of minorities. We have even more reason than you to be for peace, for we know that the aftermath of war will be the feeding ground of anti-Semitism and all manner of intolerance. We know that Nazism is no Germanic flower springing from a single blood and soil, as Hitler would have it, but a hardy shrub with many names that can send forth evil blossoms wherever the greed of the powerful is able to cultivate the desperation of the many.

On the issue of peace we know that we speak with the great masses of Americans, Jews and non-Jews. McWilliams lies when he says that the people of any race or creed want war. Let's throw the lie back into those smirking lips of his!

Rope, Fagot and Jury

BY HELEN BURLIN

Anti-lynch runaround enacted once more in the Senate; mob rule, in and out of courts, makes action necessary

THE current sabotage of the Wagner-Capper-Van- Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill in the United States Senate is both shocking and deplorable.

Shocking because Senator Alben W. Barkley, majority leader and administration spokesman, refuses to take any step to set a specific date for its discussion on the floor; shocking because the very sponsors of the bill are failing to put up an active fight to prevent its junking; deplorable because of the far-spreading ramifications of this hide-and-seek conduct.

Backstage maneuvers in the Senate during recent months—reminiscent of the runaround anti-lynching measures have received in Congress since 1921—stand exposed through the published correspondence between Senator Barkley and Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The exchange of letters discloses that Mr. White has been unable to contact the Senator personally, or obtain any assurance of action on the bill, which was passed by the House on January 25, favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 25, and then placed on the calendar.

In a letter remarkable for a cavalier and almost insolent tone toward the spokesman of a minority race, Senator Barkley writes that he is "unable to give any information as to when the bill will be taken up," "does not feel that it should be taken up at a time when other important legislation is awaiting consideration," decides that anyway "the bill could not be brought to a vote without a cloture," and expresses "considerable resentment" because Mr. White had pressed for the setting of a date and had stated that "many Senators declared they would vote for cloture." It is believed that were Barkley willing to face a record vote, cloture (to halt filibuster) would have excellent prospects of passing.

If Congress, preoccupied with "other important legislation," adjourns without a Senate vote on the anti-lynching measure, the whole bill lapses and a new start must be made in both houses. This, unfortunately, has a familiar ring. To almost—but never quite—pass anti-lynching legislation has been the practice of Congress for nearly two decades now. More than once before, the House, vulnerable to the voting power of enfranchised Negroes, has taken the credit for passing a bill, while the Senate, its members responsible to the electorate only once in six years, has taken the rap for procrastinating or filibustering the measure to death. Senators especially susceptible to Negro pressure rely on the claim that they have put up a noble but losing fight.

In 1922 the Dyer Bill passed the House 230 to 119, only to encounter a Senate filbuster. Reintroduced in succeeding sessions, it was stalled along through the twenties. In 1933, following a rise in the lynch curve, the Wagner-Costigan Bill was brought into the Senate, to suffer strangulation two years later from a filibuster and a technical vote of adjournment. Came 1937 and the Gavagan Bill, which received the now familiar runaround and ultimate sidetracking in favor of more important legislation."

The spokesmen of a patient and long-suffering people have a right to feel indignant not only at outspoken enemies but at alleged friends who callously subject them to this torment of repeated frustration.

Said Dean William H. Hastie of the Howard University Law School at the recent National Negro Congress:

> In 1932 the Republican Party made the mistake of believing that it could not lose the support of the Negro. In 1940 the Democratic Party is well on its way to repeating that blunder. The strategy of minorities must often be a strategy of reprisal against those in power who use fair words but fail to act as they talk.

Since 1933 there have been, by the N.A.A.C.P. count, 103 lynchings.* Officials of that organization cannot recall any instance in which a lyncher even has been arrested, save in the current Atlanta flog cases involving the murder of two white men and

* 1933, 28; 1934, 16; 1935, 25; 1936, 12; 1937, 8; 1938, 7; 1939, 4; 1940 (to date), 3.

a woman. These figures actually understate the extent of lynching, for as Thurgood Marshall, N.A.A.C.P. special counsel, has pointed out:

> Lynching is not dying out. Lynchers have merely adopted the subcommittee technique. Instead of a large, noisy mob, a small group of five or six persons now kidnap the victim and maim or kill him. If it is a killing party, the body is sunk in water with heavy weights. Those kind aren't reported and so they tell us that lynching is dying out.

There exists a more subtle form of lynching—lynching under pretense of following the forms of law. This sort takes place in the courtroom. The Southern Negro knows that if his case comes up in court, it is generally as good as lost. His word or that of his witnesses is, by what amounts to unwritten law, not taken against that of a white person of any type. The mere fact that he is seldom tried by a jury of his peers makes most convictions of Negroes in the South illegal in fact.

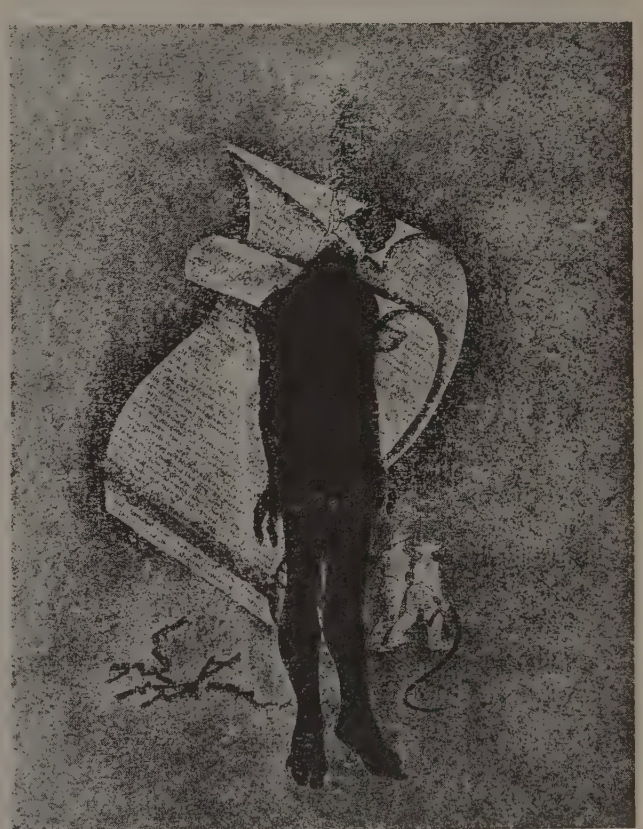
Benjamin Haywood, a Negro contractor and war veteran of Beaufort, South Carolina, while repairing roads for a white man fifteen years ago, had an argument over payment for his work and was told he had already received "enough money for any nigger." His insistence was met by a threat to have him killed. This threat was weighing on Haywood's mind that afternoon when two men, shooting as they approached, attempted an illegal entry into his home —their intent being, it later transpired, to arrest Haywood's brother for a minor offense. A scrape ensued in which one of the officers was killed. Haywood, after hiding in swamps, escaped to the North by hopping freights. For fourteen years he made his living tending barbecue stands in Akron and Pittsburgh, without trouble of any kind. Then, as a result of correspondence over a soldier's bonus, his whereabouts were discovered, and he was extradited to South Carolina.

In March this year, Ben Haywood, now a man of 50, is tried for premeditated murder before twelve white jurors. His friends are intimidated. The witnesses are all hostile. No mention is made of his fourteen years of respectable and unmolested life in the North. But so scanty is the evidence of Haywood's being a deliberate killer that the judge charges the jury for manslaughter.

But the jury, with lynch law in their blood and bones, disregards the judge and returns a verdict of first degree murder. The local paper, edited by the town's No. 1 Klansman, exults in the finding. On April 26 Haywood was sentenced to die.

In McCormick, South Carolina, three Negroes—Press Bibbs, Arthur Patterson, and John Baker—were charged with the murder of a white storekeeper in an argument over short change. Despite testimony that Baker was serving on a chain gang miles away at the time of the killing and that Patterson was at a "song feast" at least a mile away, all three were convicted. Community hysteria was at high pitch. According to the defense attorney, witnesses for the state were made to testify falsely under threats or inducements, while defense witnesses, being conducted to the courtroom, were questioned ominously about what they intended to say. Three witnesses, two for the state and one for the defense, becoming conscience-stricken, corrected their testimony in the course of the trial to favor the defendants. The judge sentenced them to eighteen months each for perjury, and the trial proceeded in a sweltering, crowded courtroom to its climax in the automatic conviction of the defendants. Though Bibbs, who was subsequently electrocuted, took sole responsibility for the crime, Patterson received a life sentence for murder and Baker twenty-five years for manslaughter. Efforts to arrange new trials for the surviving pair are under way.

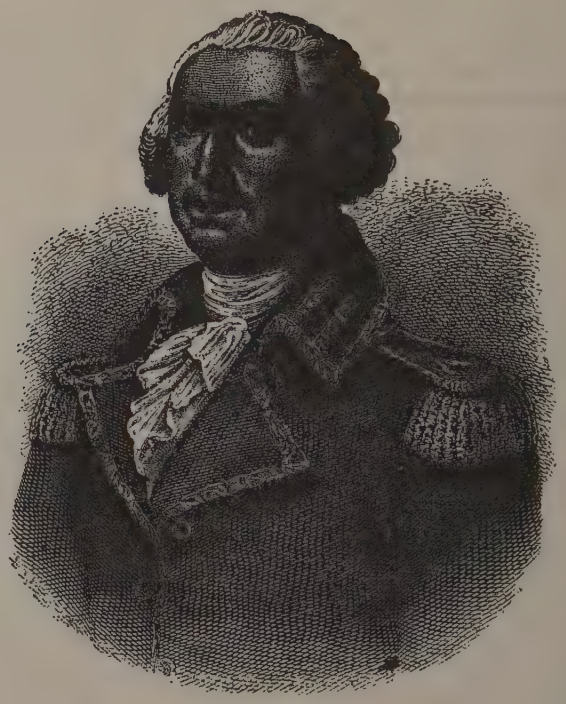
Civil rights imply political rights. When Negroes have the power to vote, they will be able better to defend their other civil rights. Two bills that can help the Negro minority and so help democracy, are the Geyer Bill to curb the poll tax and the Anti-Lynching Bill. They must pass!



Drawing by Ruth Egri

Builders of Democracy

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH



GEORGE WASHINGTON

Pillar of the Republic

NOTHING could be further from the truth than the idea that the American Revolution was fought and won by a people who stood solidly together, with the ultimate goal clearly visioned by all. The colonies were regarded practically as separate countries, mutually distrustful and suspicious, and open hostility often flared up between them. Besides sectional antagonisms, there were sharply conflicting economic and social interests among agricultural laborers, small farmers, and plantation owners; mechanics, merchants, and lawyers; slaveholders and champions of free labor; radicals and tories; and other groups which made up the American colonists. As for the goal, few men dared dream of complete independence before the publication, in January 1776, of Tom Paine's great pamphlet, *Common Sense*; the aims of the Revolution were hotly disputed throughout its course and long after its culmination.

In view of the serious divisions among the colonists, it sometimes seems a miracle that the American Revolution was won at all. Indeed, there were times when the revolutionary enterprise threatened to smash to pieces on the rocks of internal dissension. That it did not is due in part to George Washington's heroic role in rallying all factions under the common banner of independence.

When the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in May 1775, it was faced with the critical problem of military organization. The war was on; the embattled farmers had already fought the British troops at Lexington and at Concord. It was evident that undisciplined volunteers could not long hold off the highly trained soldiers of Britain. The creation of a continental army was vitally needed. Who could organize and command such an army? The choice fell upon the young Virginian, George Washington, a man of courage, integrity, and proved ability as a military leader. It was a happy selection, under circumstances which signalized the determination of the colonies to act together in a fight for freedom. The degree of Washington's military genius in conducting the Revolutionary Army has been disputed. Ignorant though I am of military strategy, it seems to me that the one vital, indisputable fact remains: the Revolution was won.

The problem of unity was as critical after the Revolution as it had been before, and here again Washington served as an important rallying center for the various factions. Through the power of his personal prestige and character, he managed to hold together, to an amazing degree, widely divergent elements during the most critical years of the young republic. When the time arrived to name the first President, Washington was chosen unanimously. His selection of a Cabinet was highly significant of his role as a cohesive agent. For the two most important posts—Secretaries of State and of the Treasury—he

named the two great antagonists, Jefferson and Hamilton, founders of the two main streams of American political thought. Washington's own political and economic views undoubtedly were much closer to Hamilton's than they were to Jefferson's, but he somehow managed to hold both men together in his Cabinet.

Limited though his economic concepts might have been, Washington was sincerely devoted to the ideals of civil and religious liberties. Without his support the Bill of Rights would not have been written into the Constitution. He regarded religious liberty as one of the major goals of the Revolution. His attitude toward religious liberty was impressively displayed soon after he took command of the Revolutionary Army, when he sent Benedict Arnold on the ill-fated Quebec expedition in September 1775. On that occasion he specifically directed Arnold to "avoid all disrespect of or Contempt of" the religious rites and customs of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Canada. "While we are contending for our own Liberty," he declared, "we should be very cautious in violating the Rights of Conscience in others." In this connection I should like to remind the reader that when Arnold turned traitor, he tried to sow dissension among the Continental troops by playing on their religious prejudices through the circulation of propaganda leaflets, charging that the revolutionary leaders were under the domination of the Roman Catholics.

It was then a widespread custom in the colonies to commemorate Guy Fawkes Day by burning the Pope in effigy. In a general order issued November 5, 1775, Washington dealt a heavy blow to this humiliating provocation against a religious minority by sternly prohibiting the "monstrous" practice in the Continental army.

A remarkable affirmation of the principle of religious freedom was made by Washington soon after his inauguration in 1789, when he received congratulatory messages from all parts of the country. Among these were letters from churches and synagogues representing practically every faith in the land, to which he responded with becoming grace. The following excerpts reflect the general sentiments expressed in his replies:

To the United Baptist Churches in Virginia: "If I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure . . . no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tryanny."

To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church: "It shall still be my endeavor to manifest, by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people."

To the Religious Society called Quakers: "The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess."

To the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island: "All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoys the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens."

Washington was a man of action rather than a thinker. An extremely practical man of affairs, he saw his chief function as that of consolidating the political independence won by the Revolution, rather than that of advancing toward new social and economic goals. In his eyes it was sufficient that the American people had created an independent republic on a plan that had never been reached before, and he remained cold to the efforts of Jefferson and his fellow "democrats" to raise the social and economic status of the lower classes.

But if Washington was conservative, he was also a vital stabilizing factor in the critical period of young America, when uncertainty, skepticism, and fear dominated many minds. As pilot of the newly-launched ship of state, he steered it safely, if slowly, through uncharted channels of the political seas. It is difficult to realize the strong sentiment for monarchy held by certain leaders like Hamilton and John Adams. Contemptuous and distrustful of the common people, they hoped to establish an autocratic government with life tenure and hereditary power wielded by the select few. It is to Washington's everlasting credit that he firmly withstood repeated suggestions of sycophantic aristocrats who surrounded him that he could better serve his country as King instead of as President.

If Washington was less progressive in some of his views than were Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine, if he was not quite (thank Heaven!) the bloodless, goody-goody tin-god portrayed by Parson Weems, he was yet eminently a man of character and principle, honest, brave, and modest. Amidst the violent storms of the revolutionary and post-revolutionary years, he never swerved from the cause he had espoused. He was a rock of the Revolution; a pillar of the Republic.

Senator Norris and the F. B. I.

"It is not true that we can resort to the methods to which Mr. Hoover resorts and preserve human liberty."

On the repeated insistence of Senator George W. Norris, the Attorney General assigned a special assistant, Henry Schweinhaut, to investigate charges of violations of civil liberties by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the arrests of the Detroit Spanish Loyalist sympathizers. Mr. Schweinhaut returned with what Senator Norris, after extended conferences with both sides to the controversy, felt impelled to brand a whitewash. In the Senate on May 7, Norris made a brilliant four-hour analysis of the issue, of which we reprint a few highlights from the Congressional Record:

Mr. President, I know the popularity of the F.B.I. I know that its defenders are scattered all over the United States. I know what it means to make a charge of any kind against it. I have no desire to bring about the abolition of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have no desire to do that Bureau an injury of any kind. I wish that I might be understood as trying to help the Bureau rather than to injure it. . . .

I believe that the methods being pursued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are wrong, and, if continued, mean the destruction of human liberty in the United States. I think the methods employed constitute a serious danger and they ought to be corrected and corrected now. I am sorry that the Attorney General does not see the situation in that light and realize that the activities of the F.B.I. ought to be curbed at the present time. Otherwise, as I see it—and, of course, I may be entirely wrong, I admit—but, as I see it and believe it to be, unless there is a correction, unless there is a rein put upon that Bureau, it will eventually mean the destruction in the United States of the liberties and the privileges we all like to say are guaranteed to every citizen under our flag by the Constitution of the United States. . . .

Those who were arrested in Detroit were enthusiastic probably in favor of the Loyalist side. One of the defendants, who was chained at that time, a young unmarried man, living, by the way, in the very house in which he was born in Detroit, had a brother serving in Spain on the Loyalist side. Of course, he was enthusiastic. These persons were charged with violating a law and were indicted and warrants were issued. The Federal Bureau of Investigation had the warrants to arrest these men, and had a right to arrest them. I concede there is nothing wrong with that; it was their duty to arrest them. But none of them were kidnapers; I do not know that any of them had ever been charged with theft, or robbery, or anything of that kind. Most of them were poor; most of them were laboring people; they had no money. Some of them were being kept by the public; some of them were working for the W.P.A.

So far as I have been able to find, there was nothing to indicate that any of them were desperate or immoral or in any way vicious; yet they were all treated as though they were outlaws, as though those arresting them were afraid they might even kill their captors.

The first thing that was done was to handcuff them. That is admitted; no one denies it. They were all arrested in bed before they were dressed. Most of them were handcuffed before they had put on their clothes, and it was necessary to take the handcuffs off of one hand, at least, in order to permit them to dress. I think they were subjected to third-degree methods. That is denied, although it is admitted that they were subjected to questioning and all kinds of questions were asked of them. Some of them refused to answer. In some cases, after a stenographer had taken down the questions and what they had stated in response and the transcript was written up and presented to them in typewritten form they refused to sign it.

The men who were arrested continually asked why they could not call their wives, why they could not let their families know, why they could not have the benefit of an attorney. There were 12 of them. It is claimed on the part of the Attorney General and by Mr. Schweinhaut in his report that they had 15 or 20 minutes in which to consult a lawyer. The men who were arrested say they had had five minutes. They were all together in one room, and they were told, "Here is your lawyer; you can consult him." The lawyer did not even know many of the defendants; had never seen them, but had been called on the telephone by their wives and asked to go there to defend them. The men who were arrested did not know him, and they said, "We had only five minutes," and all the time the

F.B.I. agents were surrounding them, listening to every sentence, so that the lawyer had no opportunity whatever to have a confidential communication with a single one. I think that was a third-degree method.

I think they were questioned, although there is some dispute about it in the testimony, from 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning, when they were arrested, until 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Some of them were almost continually on the witness stand as they were questioned by one F.B.I. agent for a while and then by another. They were given breakfast and lunch. Most of the defendants, except the women, were stripped twice. They were compelled to take off all their clothes, and were examined thoroughly by a physician whom the F.B.I. agents had selected to make the examination. Later on in the day I think most of them were stripped again, and re-examined in the same way. I do not think that is decent treatment to give to men who were not charged with a heinous crime, who were doing what their own consciousness told them was right. I do not think that can be considered to be anything except third-degree methods, and using "third-degree methods," the Supreme Court has held in a very recent case, does not necessarily mean that the prisoner is subjected to whip or club; he may be subjected to mental distress; and everyone knows that mental punishment is worse than any other kind. That applies to handcuffing and arresting one in bed and putting handcuffs on him before he gets out of bed. . . .

I desire to call the attention of the Senate to the condition of this man, a married man [Harold S. Hartley]. His wife had come down to see him before he was taken to prison. He was innocent of any crime of magnitude; at least, he had not been proven guilty of any crime whatever. He was unable to give $20,000 bail, and when he was about to be taken away, among the spectators who had come he saw his wife. He attempted to take her hand but could not do so. He attempted to kiss her farewell as he was going to prison without any opportunity of having even a word of confidential talk with her, much less with the attorney who had his case in charge. It seems to me that such a situation should appeal to the heart of every man who loves liberty. I think such things ought not to have the approval of the Attorney General or of the F.B.I.; indeed, they ought not to have the approval of any civilized man. Yet Mr. Schweinhaut in his conversation with me says that he thinks the F.B.I. was justified in putting chains and handcuffs onto every one of these men. That is their formula; that is what they always do. They put handcuffs on before they find out even whether or not they have got the right man. They handcuff him, make him helpless, scare him, arrest him in bed at night, put him through third-degree methods all day, deprive him even of the opportunity of saying good-bye to his own wife, to his own mother. . . .

I think such practices are deplorable; to my mind they are detestable; and if the F.B.I. pursues those kinds of methods in arresting anybody against whom a charge is made, then the F.B.I. ought to be reformed; and it seems to me it is up to the Attorney General of the United States to see that reform is brought about. I regret that the special Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Schweinhaut, believes that such methods are proper.

Mr. President, if you were arrested for spitting on the sidewalk and the F.B.I. had a warrant for your arrest for that great offense, the first thing they would do to you under this method of doing business would be to put you in handcuffs. They would take you to an office and strip you naked and search you. They would ask you all kinds of questions about your life, about your family relations. They would look up every step you had ever taken in your life, and confront you with every error you had ever made. Such a system of procedure cannot be permitted to live; if we are to have a free country, if we are to have a land such as we boast of, where human liberty is sacred, that kind of procedure must be outlawed and prohibited. . . .

Mr. President, it is not true that we can resort to the methods to which Mr. Hoover resorts and have success in our efforts to preserve human liberty. It is quite as necessary that we give a Communist a fair trial as that we give a Methodist a fair trial. It is quite as necessary that we protect a man charged with crime until he is found guilty, until he is shown to have committed some overt act, as it is to protect a man against whom no charge are made.

DO YOU KNOW HIM?

"I believe in civil liberties but—in times like these national unity comes first."

WE APPLAUD

DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM

. . . the South has reason to be proud. . . .

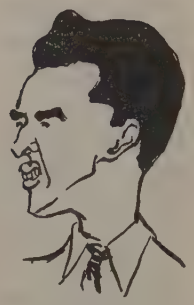
THERE are liberals and liberals. Fair weather liberals and all-weather liberals—and these are the times that try liberal souls.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, strikes us as an all-weather liberal. At a time when erstwhile Gallahads are quaking in air raid shelters, he has just been re-elected Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization which constitutes, in effect, the conscience and courage of the South. It is not easy to be a liberal in Dixie. In his presidential address, Dr. Graham struck out at the institution of the poll tax, that leg-chain on the development of the South and of the nation. He is one of those Southerners who realizes that neither the South nor the nation can realize its destiny while this anachronism persists.

We think of university presidents as stuffed shirts, and it is true that too often the calling places a premium on the ability to keep financial fences in order, to discourage dangerous thoughts, and to say nothing with great pomposity. The more the miracle that an honest man, a great educator, and sincere liberal like Dr. Frank Graham has been able to serve his institution for many years with such extraordinary distinction that under his administration it has grown to unquestioned leadership in the South and has contributed great scholars to the nation. Dr. Graham has been under fire many times, but whether it was for opposing commercialized athletics, for backing an objective study of a vested interest, or for standing by a professor who ran afoul of racial tabus, he has stood the test.

We need more men of his stature!

WE CONDEMN



REPRESENTATIVE JERRY VOORHIS

. . . become a mute inglorious Dies. . . .

YES, there are liberals and liberals. Representative Jerry Voorhis of California has retreated in such headlong fashion in the face of crisis that today, regardless of his intentions, he is indistinguishable in terms of his works from his colleague, Martin Dies.

We might as well confess that Jerry Voorhis gets up our dander even more than Mr. Dies. We know what Mr. Dies is up to, but what in Sam Hill is Voorhis doing sponsoring a Voorhis-Dies Bill to require "any organization whose policies, or any of them, are determined in collaboration with a citizen of a foreign state" to file membership lists and financial statements?

The possibilities of such a witch-hunting bill in terms of blacklist and persecution are so monstrous that the *Commonweal,* a Catholic weekly, expresses alarm at the "terrible threat that such legislation holds against Catholics." Other groups subject to snooping under its provisions would be Rotary International, the Masons, the International Red Cross, scientific societies, trade unions with Canadian affiliates, and even the International Chamber of Commerce! The bill by intent, of course, is a sorry expedient to curb political minorities.

Mr. Voorhis is well aware that it was chiefly his own solemn promise that the Dies Committee would mend its ways that got the House to vote an extension and appropriation. Yet he and his "liberal" colleagues were mum throughout the outrageous proceedings which brought the Dies Committee before two federal courts of justice. Is Mr. Voorhis playing a willing fall guy for Mr. Dies? We hope that his constituents are keeping an eye on his strange role.

ABC OF M-DAY

(*Continued from page* 15)

Group A: Physically fit for unlimited military service.

Group B: Minor physical defects. Fit for limited military service.

Group C: Unfit. Relegated to Class 4.

Class 2: Induction deferred for limited periods of time because of the importance to the nation of the occupational service they are rendering in civilian life.

Class 3: Excused because of dependents.

Class 4: Unfit.

Suppose you are in Class 2 and the local board decides you are a "bellyacher" or a "complainer." You are regraded into Class 1.

After the war

Don't count too much on the fact that a war can't last forever. Remember that under the Plan the most ruthless and ambitious men in America get a stranglehold on every detail of the national life. A dictatorship seldom abdicates voluntarily. The Plan doesn't even say they have to. On the contrary, the latest version (1939) says of the all-powerful War Resources Administration:

. . . although winning the war is of primary importance, post-war rehabilitation is a very important secondary consideration.

It may be considered advisable, upon the termination of the emergency, to continue the War Resources Administration as a post-war readjustment agency. . . .

How long is a post-war readjustment? No one knows. Some people think we are still "readjusting" from the last war.

The best way to keep M-Day from coming is also the only way. It is to keep America at peace. That means refusing to take the steps that lead to war. It means opposing the war spirit, keeping down witch-hunts, and safeguarding the civil liberties of even the least popular minorities. It means realizing that private sympathies are one thing and unneutral utterances by public officials are another. It means preventing our economy from being geared to the fortunes of war and advancing no loans or credits under any subterfuge whatsoever.

By doing these things we avoid the steps that, if persisted in, will lead to war, to M-Day, and to Hitlerism to end Hitlerism.

Most important of all, let's get over the silly fatalistic notion that although as a nation we are 99 per cent opposed to war, we are nevertheless 100 per cent powerless to stay out. Weigh well these words from the Maverick report:

When all the world is in a frenzy, full of hatred, fear, war scares and spy scares, it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to keep its head. The representatives of the greatest democratic nation in the world must surely know that the people expect to be represented, and not deserted. . . . Common-sense psychology tells us that expectation, excitation, anticipation or belief that a certain event must surely occur, has a tendency to induce the apparent occurrence.

War talk breeds war.

Job said: *For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me.* (Chapter III, verse 25.)

JOE McWILLIAMS

(*Continued from page* 24)

me the roughest bunch of boys ever associated with a political campaign in the City of New York. For the past year I have been developing my men throughout the city. These big Irishmen, these big Germans, these big Italians are coming to Yorkville, and no Jew will prevent me from having my say. If the little Jew Mayor of New York tries to stop our meetings, we'll show him what the Christians of this city can do.

Utterly unprincipled, with an ingratiating exterior that disguises a dangerous anti-social ambition. Joe McWilliams represents a familiar fascist type. He may be small potatoes as an individual, but of such stuff come the storm troop leaders that erode and corrupt a nation's integrity.

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WRITE FOR BOOKLET

Directors—PAUL WOLFSON & SOL ROTHAUSER

MILESTONES OF A MONTH

AMERICA AT ITS BEST: Father Paul Meinecke of San Francisco donates blood to save Chicago Jewish boy stricken by rare disease from which priest had recovered. . . . Rev. Charles C. Webber to lead traveling economic seminar to T.V.A., resettlement projects, and other points of interest in South July 2-31; auspices National Religion and Labor Foundation, 106 Carmel Street, New Haven, Conn. . . . Governor Lehman signs bill establishing Bill of Rights week in New York schools. . . . Two editors of *Equality* honored: Franz Boas, famed anthropologist and foe of racist myths, gets American Federation of Teachers award for outstanding service in cause of education and democracy; Max Yergan, Director of International Committee on African Affairs, elected president of National Negro Congress. . . . Supreme Court widens civil liberties horizons in holding Alabama and California anti-picketing laws unconstitutional. . . . Ten leading Chicagoans sign statement "In Defense of the Bill of Rights" which appeared in January *Equality*. . . . Lesinski Bill (H.R. 7110) to permit naturalization of natives of India who entered U. S. before 1924 backed by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which asks that letters requesting public hearings be sent to chairman of House Committee on Immigration. . . . Civil rights groups taking national poll of popular sentiment on Geyer anti-poll tax bill in five thousand local organizations of all sorts. . . . United will to abolish unemployment sought through conference at Washington June 4-6 called by Federal Council of Churches, National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Central Conference of American Rabbis. . . . Happy wedding in his Methodist parsonage at Lewisburg, Pa., climaxes long efforts of Rev. L. Elbert Wilson on behalf of two German refugees. . . . Abolition of poll tax advocated by League of Women Voters biennial convention.

WITH THE DIRTY SHIRT GROUPS: William Dudley Pelley tells why he is for anti-alien legislation: "Since the Jews consider themselves citizens of the Jewish nation, this will give them the opportunity to stand up and be counted as such.". . . Klan bans visor from official regalia as Atlanta flogging trials continue; tightening up seen by some as attempt to monopolize lucrative costume business at headquarters and discourage unstandardized home-made garb. . . . Kluxers invited to California by *Tulare Daily Advance Register* to fight organizations of migratory labor. . . . German-American Bund fails to show up to press libel action against *Newark Ledger;* suit dismissed. . . . Henry Cawthon, chief of Klan "wrecking crew," gets year and a half sentence in Atlanta flog case.

AMERICA AT ITS STRANGEST: Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Red Network expert who long ago pinned label on Roosevelts, finds Republican Party seething with Communism too: Dewey once sponsored an American Civil Liberties Union affair; Vandenberg is a member of the *American Hebrew* medal committee; Taft attended a youth congress with Earl Browder in 1936. . . . .

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY: National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights protests compulsory fingerprinting of certain categories of New York W.P.A. workers; seen as part of F.B.I.'s drive to index all relief applicants. . . . Rep. Matthew A. Dunn (D., Pa.), in letter to *Equality,* tells how Richard A. Lawry of West Homestead, Pa., father of seven children, "was suspended from his position because his name was mentioned without warrant" in Dies hearings. . . . Congregational-Christian young people's group in Georgia asks federal investigation of alleged peonage in Georgia. . . . "Blackjacks, loaded hose, cat-o'-nine-tails among weapons used by Ford Motor Co. strong-arm squad" at Dallas, says National Labor Relations Board trial examiner's report . . . . Attorney-General Jackson orders probe of Birmingham (Ala.) police action in holding Dies Committee witness incommunicado for forty-eight hours. . . . Students to protest ousting of Dr. Randolph Chandler Downes from Hartwick College faculty for heading American Labor Party in Otsego County, N. Y. . . . Committee on Militarism in Education documents charge that military purposes underlie student pilot training program of Civil Aeronautics Authority. . . . Teachers Alliance and the American Education Association spreading anti-Semitism in New York schools, Mrs. Johanna M. Lindlof, chairman of Board of Education instructional affairs committee, warns Council Against Intolerance conference. . . . New York's Board of Higher Education appealing decision in Bertrand Russell case. . . . Student protest follows expulsion of Andrew Kennedy from University of Oklahoma for refusal to take military training. . . . Two hundred educators and writers memoralize Congress in opposition to anti-alien bills; poll tax Congressmen, trying to jam through legislation on eve of adjournment, conjure up fifth columns and parachute troops in every cotton patch.

BOOKS

The meaning of Native Son

NATIVE SON. By Richard Wright. 359 pages. Harper Brothers. $2.50.

The most important novel of this year is a book about inequality. It was written by a Negro who was born the son of a sharecropper. In this combination of what the novel has to say, and of what the author's life reveals, there emerges a great truth. Richard Wright, the author, is a literary giant who will be read all over the world. But the central character of Wright's book, Bigger Thomas, is a Negro who becomes a murderer, who becomes an enemy of society. The contrast calls for deep reflection. Richard Wright became a writer not only because of his ability, but because favorable circumstances, to a minumum degree at least, permitted it.

The human spirit by itself can rise so high and no higher. We can be certain that if Wright had remained a boy on a southern plantation, if his family had never moved to Chicago, if he had been prevented from receiving any education, then, no matter what his personal abilities, he would probably have remained an illiterate farm hand and would certainly never have become a leading world writer. And it leads us to the immediate question: How many more Negro literary giants would there not be, how much greater would the contribution of the Negro people to American life not be, if our Negroes were freed from the dreadful conditions of discrimination, of persecution and exploitation under which they now live?

By contrast, the burning story of *Native Son* reveals how these very conditions of oppression sometimes *must* result in producing, not a Richard Wright, but a Bigger Thomas—a murderer, a man so degraded, so filled with hatred for his oppressors, that he takes a blind path of destruction in order to assert himself against an alien enemy society. Bigger Thomas was not born a murderer, nor did he set out to be a murderer. But society denied him a decent place in its midst, society insisted that he live in a rat-infested "ghetto," society told him only white boys "could go to the aviation school," that only white boys could live as they wanted.

America must choose. A Bigger Thomas or a Richard Wright, a Lepke or an Einstein, a Dillinger or a Dreiser. Our whole future depends upon a realization of the word equality for all people, with all its meanings, in all aspects of American life.

Read *Native Son;* it is a fine and noble book. Read it and be proud of the author.

ALBERT MALTZ

Memorial Day massacre

CITIZENS. By Meyer Levin. 650 pages. The Viking Press. $2.75.

This volume has been described as a novel about the great 1937 Chicago strike which culminated in the Memorial Day massacre. On the basis of the actuality of the strike and the massacre, Meyer Levin has erected an imaginative structure which seeks to explain, or at all events to elucidate, the causes of modern social unrest. Dr. Wilner, young and liberal-minded, witnesses the shooting down and killing of ten innocent workers by the Chicago police. The massacre assumes in his mind the proportions of a challenge to the whole of American democracy. He asks himself: Why have these ten innocent men died? Who is responsible for their deaths? His attempt to answer these questions is the story of *Citizens.*

Seeking his answer, the young doctor is forced into an investigation of the strike itself, and its social and economic background. He encounters the various representatives of the forces involved —the police, the politicians, the union organizers, the newspaper men, the radicals, the steel magnates. He tries to understand the meaning of the word "strike," the long history of personal and collective exploitation behind it. If every citizen of a democracy would take the trouble to understand these things, he finally comes to believe, then there would be less likelihood of violence and undemocratic injustice. In this case, ten men had died—yet outside of a few radicals and fellow-workers, "nobody cared." The people themselves, the "citizens," went about their daily routines just as though it had never happened.

"That's what gets me down," says Dr. Wilner at the end of his long search, "it's the people, that whole damn city, it's so indifferent —the people just don't care."

Readers may quarrel with the author on this point, for certainly it would not be difficult to show that the people *do* care passionately. In fact, *Citizens* is a good novel simply because it shows, in young Dr. Wilner, a symbol of the people's need to know and understand the issues at stake. Yet whatever may be thought of its inconclusiveness, and of its rather foggy-headed thinking, *Citizens* is a finely conceived and well-written contribution to social literature.

MICHAEL SAYERS

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They tell us we're good . . .

★ No one who is indifferent today will be able in the future when, as and if tragedy comes, to ask with a whine why the truth about this menace was not previously given to the public. . . . The May issue of *Equality* has just come off the press. It is a veritable arsenal of literary bombshells used with devastating effect on the fomenters of racism in America. One of the most important of these is the article, "A Catholic at the Brooklyn Trials," written by a Catholic.

Jewish Examiner (Brooklyn)

★ Your work is very important, especially now, and I wish you all the success with it.

Rev. William B. Spofford, Editor, The Witness

★ So courageous and outspoken is *Equality* that it truly merits our attention.

The Synagogue, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

★ Good work in promoting a spirit of tolerance and progress and in attacking bigotry and reaction is being done by the magazine *Equality*.

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in New York World-Telegram

★ Outstanding writers who are representative of the best and most liberal thought in this country are included among the contributors of *Equality*.

Detroit Jewish Chronicle

★ For more than a year the record of the Christian Front and its allied groups has been available to such investigators as might be interested. Magazines like *Equality* . . . have repeatedly exposed these organizations and warned of their menace.

Ernest L. Meyer, New York Post

If we're that good why not send *Equality* to four friends for a year for $5?

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